

20c FEBRUARY 26, 1951

New Republic

Television and EDUCATION

**A special eight-page New Republic
panel discussion, participated in
by eleven leading spokesmen for
schools, government and industry**

EDITED BY SAUL CARSON

LABOR'S WAR AT HOME

AN EDITORIAL

**WHAT COUNTRY MANUFACTURED
MOST OF THE ARMS NOW BEING USED
BY THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS?**

At first guess, most people would say Russia. But they'd be wrong. What world power, inadvertently and ironically, supplied the bulk of the weapons now being used against UN troops in Korea? The answer is only one part of the tragedy of diplomacy that went astray.

(Answered on page 6, Jan. 15th issue of the NEW REPUBLIC)

**WHAT ARE THE REAL FACTORS
BEHIND THE FAMOUS TRUMAN
"LETTERS"?**

Certain elements of the population were delighted with the furor raised in the press when some of Truman's personal letters became public. Others deplored Truman's apparent lack of discretion. Are these letters merely the President's way of "blowing off steam?" Or is there another—more alarming—reason for Truman's unbridled urge to correspond?

(Answered on page 13, Jan. 1st issue of the NEW REPUBLIC)

**WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR
TYDINGS' DEFEAT IN
MARYLAND?**

A fake composite picture, purporting to show Sen. Tydings conferring with Earl Browder, was an important factor in the campaign which elected Republican John Butler to the Senate last November. An old device, long held in disrepute, this faked photo was the concoction of another member of our law-making body. Who? And how was it done?

(Answered on page 3, Jan. 8th issue of the NEW REPUBLIC)

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WASHINGTON WIRE

FOR THE fourteenth consecutive week wholesale prices have hit a new all-time high. To be candid about it, there is no sign that this process will stop or that Truman's whole anti-inflation program will not go down the drain. We have a sort of mystical faith in the nation's ability to meet the problem, but there is mighty little corroborating evidence.

Let's go over the thing. Savings bonds would channel off excess purchasing power; but people are selling, not buying, Government bonds, because they lack confidence that inflation will be checked. On taxes,



Truman signaled a three-alarm fire to the House Ways and Means Committee, but the firemen can't be hurried; they must take testimony first. (This is a national emergency and delay could be cut in half if the House and Senate tax committees held joint hearings. But that isn't being done. When and if the House finishes its job, the whole thing must be repeated in the Senate. Meanwhile, the prospect of eventual higher taxes increases rather than slows panic buying.) The greatest inflationary factor at the moment is probably "cheap money" coming from credit which the banks are pumping into the economy; little can be done about this because of the bitter row going on between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board. Next the budget: for a wonder we are in the black at the moment, but in a few months the mobilization deficits will start. Truman's \$71 billion defense budget will hardly be met even with the full \$16.5 billion new taxes he asks. Actually Congress probably won't enact more than \$9 billion of new taxes, and not before June 1. Consequently, inflationary deficit financing looms. The dollar is now worth 56 cents in pre-war 1939 purchasing power. Eric Johnston told the Ways and Means Committee last week that inflation-raised costs of rearming had already wiped out more

than the amount of the last tax increase (about \$4.7 billion). The value is oozing out of the dollar. Congress dallies. Voting all-out defense is a lot easier indeed than voting to pay for it.

The real Administration headache these days isn't troops-for-Europe but organized labor. Labor is angry, and why not? Truman has delegated authority to economic czar Charles Wilson and a group of bankers and industrialists

who may be high-toned but do not command worker loyalty. Labor's reaction is just what Wall Street's would be if Green, Murray and Walter Reuther were on top

running the whole show. Wilson is a tremendous production man, but his technique is to bull his way through all obstacles; this is a new situation. When FDR started controls, he placed laborite Sidney Hillman on equal par with industrialist Knudsen; today labor is virtually left out. The matter goes deeper than that. What is there left in Washington to command labor's particular support? Under FDR there was always the golden dream of social betterment, but the New Deal group in Congress is reduced to a handful. The aspirations of 15 million organized workers are generally denounced as "creeping socialism." It can be answered that we must all make sacrifices now and be patriots. But consider the difficulty of the Attlee Government in blocking strikes even when the Government itself is run by unionists. There is no union government in Washington. There are few ties of loyalty any longer between organized labor and the Truman-Wilson Administration.

The "Great Debate" in the Senate has become a fraud. The dispute is not inter-party but intra-party: the GOP is split, and the rival factions are now conducting their 1952 convention battle in the marble Senate hearing room. We doubt if one Senator's vote has been changed in a fortnight. The Taft-

Wherry-Hoover "nationalist" forces control the GOP in Congress, but outside Congress Dewey in New York and Senator Duff in Pennsylvania control the two biggest state delegations on the Eisenhower side. The biggest political development since Congress started, perhaps, is the fact that Taft has embraced McCarthy.

How can a "baby army" of six US divisions plus maybe 60 or 65 divisions of our allies hope to defend Western Europe? Russia has 175 active divisions. Improbable as it seems to a layman, the Pentagon thinks it can be done. What follows requires from most of us a brand new concept of modern war. The theory is that the limited NATO force would cause the big Soviet attack to be concentrated. Tactical air power can't operate against a diffused enemy, but it can against a concentrated one. It can blast supply lines just as we are doing in Korea. In brief, our expected sea and air advantage would be used to hit the flanks, supply lines and enemy concentrations generally, while our land forces keep the advancing forces bunched up and we take full advantage of the defensive terrain. This is not mere wishful thinking. Men like Bradley and Eisenhower feel that it can be done; they think the situation so evident that no Russian general would willingly attack once the NATO army is created. Things seem a lot more understandable—and optimistic—in Europe once you understand this concept.

Notes: We are inclined to guess that when the time comes next year for Harry to decide whether he'll run again, Bess will persuade him against it. . . . Of all the things Truman would like to do right now the chief one would be to defeat Senator Kem (R, Mo.) in 1952 and come back to the Senate. . . . The Pentagon doesn't think the latest was the "big" attack in Korea; that will come, it believes, when the weather clears up. . . . Death of a single Democratic Senator in any one of 11 states which now have Republican governors would mean appointment of a GOP Senator and a 48-48 Senate tie.

Washington

T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Scientists and Peace

SIR: I have read with interest Mr. Mezerik's "Scientists and the 'Great Debate'" in your issue of February 5. A few comments may be in order since, though Mr. Mezerik's quick review is substantially accurate, it seems to need some correction of emphasis and detail.

"The Great Debate" did indeed bring little reaction from scientists. It so rapidly deflated to technicalities that few but the politically adept had a chance to get a word in edgewise. The precise number of divisions to be placed in Europe and the precise age of the youngsters to man them are not the sort of issues to draw out the minds of more sober citizens. Not only scientists but most others without a political stake remained silent.

Mr. Mezerik indicates well the occupational bias of scientists toward peaceful and constructive pursuits. But I am afraid he is wide of the mark in his effort to explain why this bias is not translated into more effective social action. The source of scientific reticence lies rather in the intimidating effects of an unfavorable social climate than in the guilt and dilemma he highlights. I doubt that scientists as a group feel personal guilt because of the bomb or because of the dynamic social forces set in motion by their labors. They have learned that while they are the suppliers of new knowledge, it is social organization which determines not only the direction in which they move but the utilization of their product.

Nor, I think, is it true that during the past year scientists have suddenly become mute. The great majority of scientists never came individually into the political arena, at least not in their laboratory coats. A few elders came to be venerated but not followed. And a few eccentrics came to pull beards and be greeted with affectionate amusement. But the major effort came from the anonymous thousands who formed new organizations to give voice to their overflowing anxiety—anxiety which arose not so much from special vision (or method) as from special knowledge. The organizations they formed are still in existence and as active as limited budgets and energies permit. It is these organizations which sparked, in past years, the fights Mr. Mezerik mentions—replying to unwarranted smears of scientists, and combating unwarranted infringement of scientific freedoms. In 1950, for example, the Federation of American Scientists was active on many

fronts. In 1951, it will continue to apply pressure toward the kind of world scientists would most like to serve. Times are tough, Mr. Mezerik, and scientists share the confusions of the times. But we are neither so mute and guilt-ridden as you portray, nor as demoniac and conspiratorial as some less sympathetic critics suggest.

CLIFFORD GROBSTEIN
(Member, Executive Committee,
Federation of American Scientists)
Bethesda, Md.

Stimulating and Clarifying

SIR: In times like these it took courage on your part to publish the splendid article, "US Blocks Peace, a British View," by Victor Purcell (NR, February 5).

You are to be congratulated on the same. It may help many of your readers to clear the muddy waters we have stirred up in conditioning our people on the Korean and Asian situation. It's not as simple as we have been led to believe, and Mr. Purcell's fine article for that reason is most stimulating and clarifying.

Cincinnati, Ohio NICHOLAS KLEIN

In Praise of Winner

SIR: I am prompted to write in praise of Percy Winner and his most illuminating insights into the mind and heart of our European cousins. I do not single him out because I do not enjoy your other contributors; life without your provocative magazine would be like living in darkness and that is most intolerable. But I have found that my knowledge of the international situation has been greatly increased through the light which has been filtered into my mind through the window which Mr. Winner has opened for Americans to the world outside. Without his incisive and brilliant commentary to cheer me up, my despair about the trend of events would be vast indeed. . . .

HARRY ESSRIG
Rabbi, Temple Emanuel
Grand Rapids, Mich.

European Union

SIR: I agree completely with the editorial on European Union, and I am glad such things are printed in the United States.

May I say that I think the Government of the United States would be well inspired if, instead of pressing the rearmament of Western Europe in a national frame which will lead nowhere, it would use its economic power to put a pressure upon the different nations for the constitution of a unified Europe.

ANDRÉ PHILIP
Assemblée Nationale, Paris



LABOR'S WAR AT HOME

CHARLES E. WILSON'S usefulness as the all-powerful mobilizer of American defense may already be at an end. He has lost the confidence of one very important group of the population, organized labor, probably beyond repair. The rupture caused by the labor resignations from the Wage Stabilization Board can mean a serious setback to the whole production program.

Labor did not withdraw from the WSB in a sudden fit of temper or merely in selfish disagreement over a wage formula. Union leaders are deeply angered at what they regard as a sell-out of the entire defense program by "a few men recruited from big business." The United Labor Policy Committee, a newly-formed body which for the first time in history speaks for all 15 million members of the CIO, the AFL, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Machinists, states that:

[The resignations from the WSB] were not merely a protest against an unfair and unworkable wage formula. . . . That formula culminated a whole series of shocking developments which we find insupportable. These developments add up to nothing less than a crisis in our defense-mobilization program . . . [which] has developed because the men who are in control of the mobilization program have ignored the necessity for "equality of sacrifice" by all the people. . . . The unworkable and unfair wage formula adopted by the Wage Stabilization Board is both a symbol and a symptom of this crisis in our domestic affairs. It is a symptom of unconcern for the needs and welfare of the plain people of this country. It is a symbol of ill-considered action, lacking an understanding of the problems and viewpoints of wage earners.

The withdrawal of the labor representatives on the Wage Stabilization Board did not create the crisis; it merely called public attention to the dangers which confront us. That problem affects not only wages but prices, taxes, rent control, manpower and housing, and the general management of the defense program.

Labor's basic discontent is over the inadequacies of the price-control program and the lack of representation it has in the shaping of major policies. In its very first pronouncement the United Labor Committee properly stated that "wage stabilization must rest upon effective control of the cost of living." It also pointed to the serious shortcomings of the Defense Production Act and

warned that "Until it is changed, we can expect no fundamental improvement in our anti-inflation program." The failure of Wilson or his Economic Stabilizer Eric Johnston to make any move toward obtaining the needed amendments finally goaded the Labor Committee last week into calling the price-stabilization program "a cynical hoax on the American people." "Profit margins are being guaranteed," the union spokesmen bitterly pointed out. "Every consideration possible is being given by Government price agencies to enhance the position of business and to protect fat profits. Flexibility which has been denied in the wage-stabilization order is being guaranteed by the price-stabilization orders."

So long as food and rents, which respectively constitute about 40 percent and 13 percent of the living expenses of the average American family, are left uncontrolled by the Defense Production Act the cost of living obviously cannot be stabilized. Labor is certainly reasonable in demanding that so long as the cost of living is subject to sharp variations, wages must also remain flexible. Labor's concern over the Government's failure to date to demand the necessary changes in the Defense Production Act is entirely justified.

"So far," the Labor Policy Committee charges, "virtually the entire defense-mobilization program has been entrusted to the hands of a few men recruited from big business who believe they have a monopoly on experience, good ideas and patriotism. Not a single policy decision so far has reflected in any way the recommendations of labor or any other group except big business." Wilson has affronted the dignity of our national union leaders. In repeated visits to his offices, they claim that no respect was shown for their opinions. Their request that a labor man be named to the mobilization staff on an equal basis with General Lucius Clay and Wall-Streeter Sidney Weinberg, Wilson's two top assistants, brought no response.

Both of these points were more responsible for labor's walkout than the specific issue of a wage formula, but the proposal of a 10 percent ceiling on raises above the January 15, 1950, wage level was definitely a red flag to the labor politicians. Government index figures will probably show the total increase in the cost of living

between January, 1950, and the end of February, 1951, to be somewhat more than nine percent—within the 10 percent allowance favored by the majority of the wage board. But this adjustment would stand at least until June, and by that time even Eric Johnston estimates that the cost of living will have increased another five to six percent. It is understandable that the union leaders feared rank-and-file reaction to a 10 percent settlement. They had further cause for alarm in that the proposed new formula takes no notice of present inequities or sub-standard wages, of the need for special raises to reward workers for increased productivity, or for specific cost-of-living raises provided in existing contracts.

The three former labor representatives on the WSB contend that these matters were not fairly considered because Wilson brought pressure on the "public" representatives to side with the industry representatives on all of them. Whether or not this is true, the WSB cannot be effective without labor participation. Nor can the country continue for long without a national wage policy. If Wilson cannot persuade the union representatives to return, he will have the responsibility of formulating that policy on his own. If he makes the mistake of attempt-

ing to ram the original WSB formula down labor's throat by main force, industry probably will be subject to a rash of absenteeism and unauthorized walkouts in the next few weeks.

Labor is not without blame for the current crisis. Its main cry for the past several months has been that it did not have men at the top in Government. It has argued too much about people and not enough about policies. It has failed in wage discussions to take the proper notice of the inflation problem and has not reconciled its wage demands with its tax program. Labor can be most useful in improving things in Washington by taking issue with individual policies and leaving the question of personnel to follow.

The job of Defense Mobilizer involves human as well as production problems. No matter how great his technical ability in organizing industry may be, Charles E. Wilson has demonstrated in the two months he has been in Washington that he is a failure in human relations. President Truman may already be regretting the gigantic grant of power he made to Wilson initially. It is not too soon for him to be thinking of a successor with an understanding of men and women as well as machines.

THE WEEK

THE STALIN "INTERVIEW"

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (NR corresp.)

Stalin's "Interview" in *Pravda* has caused a hyllabaloo around the world; but as late as the beginning of this week, it had no other tangible effect. It is characteristic of Soviet diplomacy that no one was even quite sure whether Stalin intended the net result to be good or bad, helpful or unhelpful to international relations. Most of his specific statements were immediately and hotly answered in public announcements by the British and American Governments. It was denied, for example, that Russia can be said to have disarmed when she still has at least 175 divisions in the field. It was also denied that the Chinese Communists have made any serious peace proposals.

In the corridors of the UN headquarters, the following comments (not necessarily compatible with one another) were offered on the Stalin interview:

1. Stalin was trying to frighten the

UN out of applying sanctions to Communist China, following the accusation of aggression in Korea made against her.

2. The interview was preliminary to withdrawal of the entire Communist bloc from the UN.

3. Stalin was trying to answer in advance the arguments that will be brought up by the other nations in the Big Four if a conference of the powers takes place this spring.

4. The interview was intended primarily for consumption inside Russia, as a big propaganda effort to offset recent severe Russian setbacks in international affairs. These setbacks include: rising Titoism in Italy and other countries; disaffection of various types in Czechoslovakia and other East European satellite countries; comparative success of UN forces in Korea; increasing solidarity and effectiveness of the countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and speed and scope of the American rearmament effort.

If Stalin was trying to divide the

Western allies, his interview seems likely to fail its purpose. For months, Great Britain has been far too tender toward the Communist countries, in the American view; yet Great Britain responded to the Stalin interview with a blazing indictment of Russian acts in the satellite countries and in Greece, Yugoslavia, Germany, Korea, Malaya and Indo-China. Russia was attacked for her attitude toward the Marshall Plan, for her 1950 boycott of the UN and for staying out of a number of UN organizations. The United States has never blasted Russia any harder, or more effectively.

After a weekend in which to think it over, opinion seemed to be swinging to the notion that Stalin's chief purpose had been no more complex than the effort to make as much trouble as he could, in all possible directions, for the non-Communist world. If there was an olive branch concealed in his verbiage anywhere, it was concealed so effectively that it might as well not have been there.

STALIN COURTS IRAN

Since the Soviet has seldom been known to esteem neighboring royalty as friends of the proletarian revolution, diplomats cocked wary eyes at the diamond-studded flower-pots with which Josef Stalin bedazzled the young bride of the "king of kings," Iran's Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi. In fact the precious gift was merely another in the series of enticing overtures which Moscow has been directing to the Middle East's biggest oil producer in recent months. The diplomatic offensive began in July when the Russians broached a new trade agreement to Teheran. Since then the agreement has been signed and put into operation, the Russians have released a number of Iranians captured in border clashes, Teheran has been promised \$10 million of its gold that has been held ransom in Moscow and Stalin has agreed to the establishment of the joint border commission for which Iranians have long been pressing.

Simultaneously, Teheran's three-dozen-odd newspapers and the factions of landed oligarchs who rule the backward country have been drifting toward a hyper-thyroid nationalism, which has turned into a highly vocal Middle Eastern "neutralism." The long delays in achieving satisfactory financial settlement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and the lack of long-expected large-scale aid from the US, have fanned the anti-Western sentiment which is a heritage of the country's long colonial status. Exploiting this feeling, the politically-ambitious Director General of Propaganda recently canceled the re-broadcasting of Voice of America programs over the Iranian radio, and thus far the Iranian Government also has failed to ratify the agreement for the \$25 million Export-Import Bank loan approved in Washington last December.

An effective US program to bolster Iran has been hampered by chaotic internal politics. The landlord-controlled parliament has checkmated the limited reform efforts of the Shah and Premier Ali Razmara, both of whom are strongly anti-Communist. The parliament's refusal to ratify the oil agreement has

all but killed the ambitious seven-year plan drawn up by American consultants, for which oil royalties were to pay. While applauding the king's example in dividing the royal domain in 3,000 villages among the peasants, the big landowners have failed to follow suit themselves and have prevented the Government from taking effective reform action.

State Department policy has been aimed at preventing a badly-needed revolution from crystallizing into a Communist dictatorship. Iran was the first country to receive a Point-Four allocation and is due for more selected aid in the future. The Export-Import loan for road construction and agricultural projects was granted despite haughty Iranian negotiators. These efforts must be multiplied if Iran and its resources are not to succumb to Stalin's newly-found "friendship."

MR. REPUBLICAN AND MUTUAL

Frank Edwards, the genial radio commentator who has the unique job of presenting labor's side of the news over the Mutual network, is Sen. Robert Alphonso Taft's latest target. During the past year, the Ohio Republican has become increasingly concerned about Edwards' nightly news broadcast, sponsored by the American Federation of Labor. Edwards simply has not shown the proper Fulton Lewis type of respect to which the Senator is accustomed. As a result, Taft recently has indicated he will boycott Mutual unless something is done about Edwards—and there is nothing in the Taft-Hartley Act that can prevent him from doing so.

A few weeks ago Mutual asked Senator Taft to appear on its Reporters' Roundup, a Thursday night program of interviews with politicians. Taft refused and as much as said he did not intend to grace a Mutual microphone so long as Edwards was on the air. Taft's complaint reached the news editor of Mutual in New York who requested that he be notified the next time Edwards planned to use a news report on Taft.

On Friday, February 9, Edwards stated in his regular news broadcast: "Senator Taft, the Republican from

Ohio, has issued a statement which is sharply critical of Eisenhower's report on European conditions. . . . The Washington Post says, 'Senator Taft told the Senate yesterday, in effect, that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower didn't know what he was talking about'. . . . In his earlier statement on the military picture in Europe, Taft was criticized for advocating a policy of deserting Europe to the Commies." The next morning, Jack Martin, Senator Taft's executive assistant, called Mutual's New York news editor to say that the Senator was very disturbed about the broadcast and had decided not to appear as scheduled on the Mutual network Saturday night in a speech to be broadcast from Chicago. The New York editors quickly re-read Edwards' broadcast and could find no factual errors. Possibly because of the time element, Taft agreed to go ahead with the broadcast.

As the situation now stands, Mutual is checking Edwards' scripts and, so far, has found no evidence of unfair treatment to Mr. Republican. Edwards isn't surprised about Taft's objections, but, he says, "I've just been reporting his own confusing and conflicting remarks straight out of the *Congressional Record*."

ISRAEL'S CHILDREN

Religion and Socialism have broken an uneasy alliance in Israel with the resignation of Prime Minister David Ben Gurion's coalition cabinet. The long-delayed split came on the issue of whether all new immigrant children be given the traditional religious education, or their parents allowed to choose among four parallel school systems as suggested by the Socialists. The compromise was rejected by most of the rightist religious bloc.

Taking advantage of their crucial parliamentary position, the orthodox groups have exerted continued pressure to enact religious schooling and rituals through law. Now they may have gone too far. Socialist leaders hope that the election will result in a cabinet realignment, with the bourgeois General Zionists replacing the stubborn advocates of a religious state.

WILL DOCTORS STRIKE?

If and when a national health-insurance measure is passed, organized medicine will be prepared with a master plan of non-participation. The scheme was revealed in the January issue of *Medical Economics*, a monthly trade journal for doctors. Proposed by the Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, the plan would have "physicians exercise their constitutional right not to take part in schemes for the distribution of their services that are contrary to the public interest."

The AAPS says that "non-participation is both simple and legal." Since its organization in 1943, the AAPS has enrolled doctor-members from every state and every city of appreciable size. These members, along with a majority of state and county medical chapters of the American Medical Association, have explicitly approved the AAPS objectives, including non-participation. "Such doctors would serve as Minute Men," the AAPS says. "We believe they could enroll 90 percent of the nation's eligible physicians within 48 hours if threatened by passage of a socialized medicine law."

"What about doctors who refuse to go along with the AAPS? "We hold that

the number of backsliders would be negligible," the AAPS says confidently. "Collective action by their colleagues would tend to hold them in line." Doctors would continue to serve their patients on a fee-for-service basis. It is difficult to predict the exact reactions of doctors and patients to such a plan, the AAPS says, "but we believe it would break the back of any political medicine scheme."

THE MALMEDY MASSACRE

Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R, Wis.) took time off from his sleuthing recently to state that the action of our Government in commuting the death sentence of the Nazi Malmedy killers was "extremely wise." The granting of clemency to the German SS troopers who had murdered over 150 American soldiers in cold blood during the Battle of the Bulge in 1944 was another victory for McCarthy. It was the Senator's charges that our Army had used methods of torture against the Malmedy killers to force confessions which brought about a lengthy investigation by a Senate subcommittee under former Senator Baldwin (R, Conn.) in 1949. McCarthy's campaign to discredit the US military tribunal was a great reflection on American justice and was quickly seized by the Communists in East Germany as an effective weapon against US occupation forces in West Germany.

When 74 of the storm troopers were rounded up and tried as war criminals by the Army, 43 of them were sentenced to death. Subsequent reviews reduced that number first to 12 and then to 6 before the recent commutation. The Baldwin committee's extensive investigation found that the Malmedy murderers were convicted in accordance with American

procedures and that the charges of McCarthy and the National Council for the Prevention of War were the bases for Communist propaganda designed to discredit the American occupation forces. Despite this, Senator McCarthy in his enthusiasm over the commutation repeated his charges that our Army had "withheld food from the families of the prisoners" and "subjected them to mock trials by phony judges" to get confessions, and added with an air of sacrosanctity that it was "of course impossible to know whether those convicted and sentenced to hang were guilty."

McCarthy's defense of the Nazi troopers was the subject of a bitter attack last week by one of the 12 survivors of the Malmedy massacre. Virgil Lary, an ex-Army lieutenant who is now an accountant for the Texas Petroleum Company in Caracas, Venezuela, arrived in Washington on the day the clemency was granted and has spent most of his two-weeks' vacation co-operating with the American Veterans Committee in an attempt to re-open the Malmedy investigation. Lary said that he was a witness at the trials of the German prisoners and had identified the leader "who raised the pistol, who gave the signal to begin firing at us." He was given free access to the prison and was permitted to watch interrogations through peepholes when neither the prisoners nor the American officers knew he was watching. "I saw no evidence of maltreatment, violence or torture of any sort," Lary said. "I charge that Senator McCarthy based his propaganda on false material about the conduct of the trials fed to him through the work of German Communists."

Lary and the AVC urge passage of a resolution introduced last week by Rep. John Dingell (D, Mich.) to conduct a Congressional investigation into the causes and reasons for the commutations of the death sentences, call upon the Senate to make public a secret report of the Baldwin committee, and ask the US Government's full support for the establishment of an international criminal law court, a proposal which will be considered by the International Law Commission of the United Nations at Geneva this fall.



OUTSIDE AMERICA

EUROPE'S DUSTY ANSWER

European newspaper readers had some difficulty understanding translations of Sen. Warren Austin's remark that the message from Peking on the Korean cease-fire issue was "a dusty answer." But when the context of the Meredith sonnet, from which the phrase was taken, was spelled out, many readers felt that the Senator had said more about the present American attitude than about the Chinese, and that he had revealed perhaps more than he had intended about the overtones of American policy. The lines from the *Modern Love* sequence are:

Ah, what a dusty answer gets the soul
When hot for certainties in this our life!

The Chinese refusal to give a plain "yes" or a "no"—hence the dusty answer—was no surprise either to European statesmen or the man in the street. The language of diplomacy to which Europeans are accustomed, and the language of Oriental diplomacy even more so, is by definition oblique rather than plain: a "no" may mean "perhaps," and "perhaps" may mean "yes." And it seems more and more to Europeans that the certainties, the absolutes, the finalities which the Americans are hot after have their place in poetry, in philosophy, in theology but not in politics.

Hollywood is enjoined against appeasing the doctrine that crime does not pay, but war criminals condemned at Nuremberg and similar tribunals are coming out of jail—even shaking the hand of General Eisenhower—and the unconditional surrender of the aggressors is turning out to be conditional. In practice the Americans are sufficiently relativist to deal with Tito, Franco and worse. Only in morals are they absolutist. And Europeans have grave

doubts of the practical efficiency of this new version of medieval dualism.

It is not a European but an American, Pitirim A. Sorokin of Harvard, who says:

Without an evaluation of the merits and demerits of President Truman's foreign policy, I venture to predict (as a scholar) that it hardly has a chance to lead us to peace and its chances to bring us to full-scale war are practically certain. Further on, and when such a war explodes, it is likely to be as disastrous for us as for the opponent. Contrary to the President's statement, it will not save liberty, justice, democracy and free enterprise.

The trouble is, European scholars believe, that the end of present American policy is not a measurable fact or state of practical affairs but an absolute moral intention; and that, unwittingly, Americans are, in the service of that absolute, working on the principle they most indignantly repudiate—the doctrine that the end justifies the means. Europeans recognize two forms of that doctrine. For Machiavelli, the end meant the *effetto*—the practical result. For Giovanni Botero, the Jesuit who evolved the *raison d'etat*, the end meant the moral intention.

The Machiavellian tradition's great figures—men like Cromwell, Metternich, Talleyrand, Bismarck, and in our own time, Churchill—were content with conditional surrender. Stalin is of course in the other tradition: Soviet power, even on a world scale, is only a means of serving the "moral" (or immoral) intentions of Marxist "idealism" (or madness).

To go to battle against "The Great Lie" under the banner of "The Great Truth" is, for Europeans, to generate altogether too much heat for certainties. And since the only one *they* can see ahead, *practically*, is Sorokin's gloomy foresight, they yearn for a certain amount of plain and simple Machiavellianism in American policy.

Many Eisenhower anecdotes are going the rounds in Paris. Here are a few. A fellow-guest at a dinner is said to have asked the General if he thought Stalin was as good a military strategist as Napoleon. Eisenhower

parried with the remark that the two couldn't be compared. "It will be interesting later on," the fellow-guest persisted, "to compare your view with that of Marshall Foch. He said, you know, that after he had learned by personal experience how military coalitions worked, his great admiration for Napoleon had considerably decreased." There was an outburst of laughter but Eisenhower did not join in.

Leaving the Hotel Raffael one day, carrying a small handbag, Eisenhower brushed aside an offer from one of the plainclothes policemen to carry the bag. "No, no," the General said, laughing, "it's the bomb." Neither the policeman nor anyone else in the crowd of French men and women laughed when the translation of the remark traveled back among them.

The French Government doesn't seem to agree with Sen. Paul Douglas that we should "protect freedom everywhere we can." While India's Pandit Nehru was giving encouragement to the son of Habib Bourguiba, leader of the Tunisian Neo-Destour Nationalist Party, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs was giving exactly opposite encouragement to a delegation of old-guard French feudal colonialists. And Bourguiba warned that if the French reneged about their promises of Tunisian freedom, "we shall have to get freedom by blood and war."

But the French Government does seem to agree with Douglas that we should "have no squeamishness from now on in taking associates whose records may be somewhat soiled." There is a plan afoot to defeat the Moroccan Nationalist Istiqlal by deposing Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef and replacing him by a Moroccan version of Bao Dai—Thami el Glaoui, the Pasha of Marrakesh. Most of the Moroccans support the Sultan, but el Glaoui won't need to fight them to secure the quisling puppetship for himself: he will be able to rely on one of the great French soldiers whom Eisenhower is counting on for a high place in the command of the crusade for world freedom—French General Juin.

Paris

PERCY WINNER

INDIA'S UNCERTAIN FUTURE

THE WORLD TODAY is watching India in the light of its foreign

policy. It must also study India's foreign policy in the light of changes that are breaking within this nation.

Today those changes are breaking as the result of the void left by the death of India's strong man, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He died two months ago, but the impact of his death is just beginning to be felt.

Patel was known as "the lion of Gujarat." His death on December 15 marked a sharper turning point in the infant career of independent India than did the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi three years back. Gandhi left a universal void; the void created by Patel's passing away is strictly national, and so it is felt more intensely. When Gandhi died, the mantle fell collectively on Nehru and Patel, and together they were able to maintain what Gandhi maintained single-handed—the system of one-party rule. Now Nehru stands supreme, but, what is more important, he stands alone. In many respects they were rivals; yet, ironically enough, Nehru is weaker without Patel at his side.

The thing that was distinct about Sardar Patel was what the Americans call "horse sense," and what Indians call wisdom. He was a good judge of men and issues, and his likes and dislikes were urgent. A discerning tribute was paid to him by one of his avowed opponents, the Premier of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, who said: "One could strongly differ from him in his policies and methods, but in dealing with him one always knew what he meant and also knew that he meant it." This is the point that illuminates Patel and illuminates post-Patel India. Patel gave indispensable order and administrative direction to India's new-born Government. India is now without a strong man.

Patel left behind a personal empire. In replacing Patel as the Home Minister, C. Rajagopalachari now directly governs Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg, the Andaman and Nicobar islands, all told an area of some 7,000 square miles and a population of 1.7 million people. In replacing Patel as the States Minister, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar rules over one-fourth of India, either through his Chief Commissioners or through his chosen Ministers, and like Patel, is responsible to no legislature. These 277,340 square miles comprise Bilaspur, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, PEPSU (Punjab and the East

Punjab States Union), Bhopal, Manipur and Tripura.

Patel aided and abetted the rich, but he also kept them in line so far as the Congress was concerned. Patel aided the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak and the Hindu revivalists (extremist Hindu group), but he also kept them within bounds and thus prevented the formation of an open opposition. Patel destroyed the princely rule, but at the same time, he gave the maharajahs comfortable incomes and pensions and thus retained their lip-loyalty. Somehow or other, Patel acquired the reputation of being the champion of the Sikhs and thus divided that virile community over the issue of a separate Sikh State. Victims of the partition, the refugees also came to regard Patel as a warmer friend than Nehru.

Soon after Patel's death, a goodly number of princes got together in a newly-organized Union of Rulers which boasted 90 maharajahs as members. The Maharaja of Baroda presided over their Bombay deliberations. This was the first sign of life shown by maharajahs who had been stunned by rapid changes following independence. The new stirring among the ex-rulers indicates an awareness of the coming general election wherein princes can play the part of hidden "angels," if not that of open contestants. The Zamindars of central India, the Jagirdars of Rajasthan, the Girasdars of Saurashtra, all the great landowners of India, are up in arms. They are bolder than the maharajahs because the die is not yet cast about their fate.

Within a few weeks of "the lion's" death, Hiralal Shastri, Chief Minister of Rajasthan, became the first post-Patel casualty. "Integration" showed some signs of disintegration in Rajasthan. Crises were brewing also in such States Unions as Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and PEPSU. The ministry in Punjab had been kept in power largely through Patel's blessings. It, too, has begun to face greater challenge. Likewise, the present rulers of West Bengal have lost a great deal of their vigor, for Patel alone was able to maintain them in the face of strong popular resentment.

Following Gandhi's death, there were not many political changes because the "diarchy" of Nehru and Patel was able to replace the "monarchy" of the Mahatma. In other words, Nehru and Patel were able to maintain the Congress as the *front populaire* by one attracting the Right and the other attracting the Left.

The ideological differences between the two were unbridgeable; temperamental differences were even more

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jarring; personal rivalries bobbed up in petty things, especially among their courtiers and camp-followers.

Down below, the effect of this division was devastating. There were two governments where there ought to have been one. Even civil-service officials, whose boast has been that they are always above politics, were divided among themselves as Nehru-men and Patel-men, and the Government was at a standstill simply because it was difficult to make a decision that satisfied all sides in the cabinet. Within the Party itself, dissensions deepened.

The break was coming even during the last months of Sardar Patel's earthly existence. On September 15, 1950, on the eve of the Nasik session of the Congress, Pandit Nehru issued a statement that publicized the split. The issue was the election bid of Babu Purshottamdas Tandon to be the Congress Party President, which was interpreted in the Nehru quarters as a victory for the reactionaries and revivalists.

Tandon's election was a technical victory for Patel, for Nehru had silently backed Acharya Kripalani for the position of the Congress President. But delegates to the annual session of the Congress at Nasik over which Tandon presided knew well that Nehru's manifesto amounted to an ultimatum. As a result, Nehru's policies received an overwhelming endorsement. But even Nehru knew that this was a technical victory, and no more. Lips moved in eulogy, but the hearts of the Congress leaders remained set against Nehru.

The struggle did not stop there. The Kripalani group started the Democratic Front within the Congress Party and thus offered the high command a delicate problem of discipline. Others, like Dr. P. C. Ghosh, renounced their old loyalty to the Congress and walked out of the fold to start a new group in West Bengal. T. Prakasam continued to offer formidable resistance to the Madras pets of the high command in the Working Committee of the Congress Party.

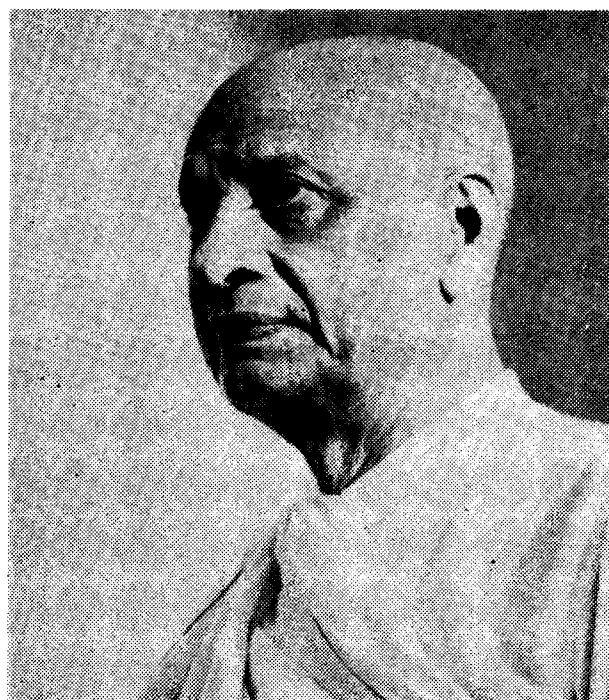
Following Patel's death, in the last week of December, 1950, Jayprakash Narayan, the Socialist leader, had two interviews with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, probably at the latter's initiative. Patel, the consistent and outstanding opponent of the "young" Socialist was gone, and with Patel, to some extent, was gone the loyalty to Nehru's regime of big business, Hindu revivalists, feudalists and local party bosses down to the ward-healers of the Congress Party.

It is true that there was no outright announcement heralding the prodigals' return (the Socialists quit the Congress a year ago). It is also true that Nehru, while instituting the "first step" in his projected reshuffle of the Government, ignored even the neo-Socialists who had stuck to the Congress. Yet the lack of any immediate

realignment of forces has not smothered the expectation that now that Nehru is the sole commander of the Party, the organization will function left of the center instead of to the right of the center, and that sooner or later the leftists will overshadow and perhaps eject the rightists. For, one thing is certain; the revivalism of Tandon and the liberalism of Nehru can never effect a lasting coalition.

India under Patel's paternal rule was only one-half democracy. In a way, she was facing the cross-roads, with strong pulls in each direction. The ideology of one-party rule, which was somehow construed to be distinct from dictatorship, looked as respectable as the theory of democracy because one-party rule was the pattern all over Asia, especially in countries recently free from foreign domination. Opposition parties did exist in Asian countries, but not as effective levers against an overwhelming majority solidified at the center. In India, the forces of one-party rule received a reversal with the death of the man who alone could have brought them victory. And if the armor of the one-party system is dented in India, the rout is likely to be Asia-wide, from the long-range point of view.

Politics has become much more logical now. There is a trend toward more pronounced inter-party definitions. Even the Congress has started to shrink to the dimensions of a political organization from the mighty movement it once was. But here, a crucial question arises. *Who will control the machinery of the Congress politics, now that Patel is gone?* Nehru undoubtedly is supreme



GOVERNMENT OF INDIA INFORMATION SERVICES

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

in the realm of leadership, in inspiration and vision. But he does not have either the aptitude or the liking for practical politics. Followers of Patel such as Hare Krishna Mahatab and K. M. Munshi are now struggling to move into his critically important position. They have ability, but they lack support and Patel's incomparable prestige.

Patel has left many orphans, but of all the groups that thrived under his patronage and protection the officials of the Indian Civil Service have received the most jolting blow. They seem to miss him more and mourn him more than they ever did miss or mourn the "Father of the Nation." For, unlike Gandhi, Patel had adopted the orphans left behind by the departing British. The wisdom of such a great solicitude for those who were once regarded as traitors was challenged, of course, but Patel retained the loyalty of the Civil Service at a time when their role was indispensable in maintaining continuity in government following the British departure. By the same token, he retained the loyalty of the police when the infant state was in danger. And, without becoming the Defense Minister, it was Patel who inspired the army, a third guarantor of India's independence and her democracy.

Patel's oligarchical behavior turned out to be subconsciously acceptable even to leaders who gave intellectual allegiance to democratic clichés. When judged in the light of their actions and manners and not in the light of their words, practically each Indian minister or leader, including Jawaharlal Nehru, played the role of a minor oriental despot. Their oligarchical behavior and manners and actions did not greatly jar upon the general sensitivity simply because there were extenuating circumstances; the masses were accustomed to high-handedness for untold centuries; the classes were brought up in the court tradition wherein promotions depended not so much on talent but upon the favor of powers that be—a viceroy, a mahatma, a prime minister or a party boss.

Men like Patel consciously, and men like Nehru despite themselves, believed in the famous dictum of Sun Yat-sen that a period of "tutelage" should precede the stage of democracy so far as the masses of the Orient were concerned. Gandhi frankly talked about "guardianship," and openly acted as a guardian. But under Nehru's élan a fashion set in to repeat clichés and slogans and ideas and ideals prevalent in democratic countries.

The cadence of the brave new words of the constitution and its framers was not in harmony with the beatings of conservative hearts, and this was nowhere truer than in the case of Sardar Patel. Goaded by Patel's home ministry, ordinances and emergency acts were

instituted which seemed fully justified in the light of India's plight but which also were clear and flagrant violations of the proud assurances embodied in the new constitution. They seemed to be an attempt to take away with one hand what was given with the other by way of civil liberties and fundamental rights.

This, then, was the supreme dilemma of a man who objectively believed in strong methods but who had to follow the current fashion that he regarded as "democratic clap-trap." The high courts of India and the Supreme Court uncovered this dilemma of oligarchs who had been reciting democratic primers. The fearless scrutiny of the courts produced heavy casualties among the enforcers of emergency powers.

Such things are seldom said, and when said, are rarely allowed to be quoted, but the Anglo-American diplomatic circles in Delhi felt that they lost their staunchest supporter when Sardar Patel died. It is true that the Sardar had decided not to interfere in the affairs that Nehru directed, especially foreign affairs, in exchange for the complete autonomy that he enjoyed in his own ministries where even the prime minister did not interfere. But it is equally true that Patel was unhappy about India's foreign policy. By temperament he was a partisan and never a neutral in domestic or foreign policy. By temperament he was a conservative who opposed all fundamental social changes and who heartily hated Communists. By temperament he was in tune with big business which looked to America for salvation. The Sardar felt India's financial solvency, in general, and her industrialization program, in particular, depended largely on American good will and bounty. And when the food crisis grew ominous, with famine appearing on the horizon, he became thoroughly alarmed by Nehru's willingness to alienate American opinion. In a clear challenge to Nehru, he indirectly but openly advocated collaboration with America in his Ahmedabad speech a few months before his death.

From the Western point-of-view, an "interventionist" is gone. No one of Nehru's political stature is now available to challenge the doctrine of neutrality for India. But economic developments in India continue to confirm Patel's hopes and fears. The drift of present developments leads to a widening break between Nehru's India and the America of Acheson and Taft. Yet, as the reports of starvation mount, Patel's followers must seek a way out. The great feeder receives an evangelical opportunity; food packages can be wrapped in ideas.

This is the supreme irony of a great life strongly lived. In domestic affairs, where Patel ruled unchallenged, his death has brightened the chances of the opposition. In foreign policy, a field he scrupulously avoided, he may turn out to be a posthumous force.

AMERICAN LIBERALS MEET

WHEN THE Americans for Democratic Action hold their fourth annual convention in Cleveland on Washington's birthday, they will have completed a cycle that, in some respects, brings this coalition of American liberals back to where they started in 1947. The ADA was founded after a mid-term Congressional election in which the GOP gained a considerable bloc of seats in both houses; many "liberals" in Washington interpreted the 1946 results as a mandate for conservatism and began to adjust their behavior accordingly; in a period of crucial transition from war- to peace-time economy, the nation was characterized by lack of any policy.

In 1947, Communists and fellow-travelers through their influence in the Progressive Citizens of America and later with Henry Wallace, were a lively and growing force; today, the PCA is an almost unknown set of initials. In 1947, the GOP was in full control of both Houses; today, the Democrats control Congress as the result of an election in which liberals lost fewer seats than in any other mid-term balloting. In 1947, White House leadership was nil; today, despite fumbling in Washington, the general contour of a Fair Deal policy is still apparent in Truman's pronouncements.

To some extent, the ADA is responsible for the shifted balance of political forces since 1947. At the 1948 Philadelphia Convention of the Democratic Party, the ADAers played a significant, perhaps decisive, role in passing the civil-rights plank; in the campaign itself, the ADA—together with an aroused labor movement—gave the election the character of a national referendum on public policy. Even in 1950, the efforts of liberal and labor forces, in some cases united through the catalysis of the ADA, kept the usual mid-term losses down to 27 seats in the House as contrasted with 55 in 1946, 45 in 1942 and 71 in 1938. Between 1947 and 1951, the ADA weakened Communist influence among liberals by providing a home and a voice for the non-Communist "left." Finally, through its corps of highly articulate members, the ADA has helped maintain the outlines of a Fair Deal in a period of confusion and crisis.

The ADA provides a stop-gap alternative to a responsible party of liberalism at three levels of action:

Program Planning. At its national convention, the ADA can, and does, plot a co-ordinated course of action

by Gus Tyler

for our nation, meshing domestic with international, economic with political, short-term with long-range policy.

Linking Social Thinkers and Political Activists. Because the ADA is composed so largely of a middle group, a layer between the social theorist and the political doer, it serves a major purpose in translating fresh progressive ideas into slogans and planks with mass appeal.

Uniting party and non-party political forces. Because our major national parties do not rest securely on a bedrock of platform, America has witnessed a proliferation of pressure groups, some of them devoted to one issue, like the Committee for the Nation's Health, others working for a full social program, like the AFL's League for Political Education and the CIO's Political Action Committee. A working alliance between such groups and existing party machinery is needed. In many communities, the ADA is the catalytic agent, speeding the collaboration of existing party organizations with the new-type liberal "interest" group.

In regard to program, the greatest problem facing the ADA—as well as America—is foreign policy. Curiously, this was also true of the ADA's founding meeting where, after establishing the vast common ground, the leaders divided seriously on the Truman Doctrine. In a sense, the present debate is a continuation of the original controversy—on new terrain.

Those in the ADA who opposed the Truman Doctrine argued: (a) that military power alone could not halt the advance of Communism in Greece; (b) that Greece was so hopelessly divided between Communism and reaction that US intervention would make us the gendarmes of neo-fascism. Those who favored the Truman Doctrine maintained: (a) that, while military power alone was not desirable, a display of armed strength could hold the line while economic and social reform advanced; (b) that in a non-Communist Greece, new forces would emerge and could be developed.

The partial solution of this controversy by history will undoubtedly compose the background of the ADA's discussion of the Far East this year. Greece has been rescued from Communist hands; the government has been liberalized, even though inadequately; new "third" forces have emerged. The stabilization of Greece took some of the pressure off Italy where the Communists lost a decisive national election. The defeat of Stalin-

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ism in Greece and Italy gave Tito the international balance of forces to risk the separation of Yugoslavia from the Kremlin. Communist forces in Europe began to slip—in the French trade unions, in the German elections and even (in its Titoist form) in the satellite nations. Russia's great gamble to reverse the trend—the Berlin blockade—was lost to the American airlift. The fissure in the Italian Communist Party is a continuation of this trend.

To regain lost prestige and to whip the dissidents back into line, Stalin decided to play the other side of the chessboard—Asia. He chose the weakest point in the non-Communist Asiatic world, Korea, and the most powerful Communist Party outside the Soviet Union to make the play, Communist China.

In the initial stages of the Korean fighting, the ADA showed none of the ambivalence that characterized it on the Greek action. Because this was a UN as well as a US action, American liberalism saw it not only as an action against Communist aggression but also as the first positive act toward the enforcement of a *pax gentium*. The draft resolution on the Far East which the ADA convention will consider carries this idea further by recognizing "the necessity for military holding operations in such vital areas as Korea, Indo-China, the Philippines and Burma." As in the case of Europe, the ADA proposes to create new situations and encourage new forces in Asia through an extended Point Four, with the best hope seen in India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippines, Iran, Indo-China, Korea and Japan.

The overt entrance of Communist China into the Korean conflict has raised a number of disputed questions in the ADA. The first of these concerns the character and treatment of Red China. One group looks upon Mao as a "potential Tito" and would encourage him to split from Stalin by a series of concessions including UN admission, US recognition and a negotiated peace including the cession of Formosa. Another group maintains that a Titoist development is largely ruled out by the long history of the Chinese Communist Party, by its present actions in Korea, Tibet and Indo-China and by the power relationships between Red China and the Kremlin. Probably the strongest argument against concessions is the belief that should Mao follow Tito, he would do so for the same reasons: namely, the show of military *strength* by the free world.

Despite these differences, the ADA will probably find itself agreed in its immediate proposals for action, for—as the draft program states—"Communist China *cannot* rightfully claim a seat in the UN so long as it offers resistance to the authority of the UN in Korea and threatens new acts of aggression elsewhere in Asia."

The other difference concerns the allocation of military strength in the global struggle against Commu-

nism. To avoid an overcommitment in Asia that would strip us of necessary strength for the more decisive area of Europe, the ADA envisions a "limited warfare" in Asia. While this concept rules out a major allocation of forces to an amorphous land war on the continent, it does not exclude aid (informal) to the anti-Communist guerrillas on the mainland or the use of Nationalist troops, preferably minus Chiang, as part of the UN contingent in Korea. While it recognizes the political burden entailed in any association with Chiang, it does not exclude the holding of Formosa, especially through economic aid as a lever to reform the Nationalist regime. The concept of "limited warfare" can probably be best applied by staff experts in constant contact with a rapidly evolving situation. But such considerations will not inhibit some delegates from seeking to handle this delicate matter with the heavy machinery of a convention resolve.

Although foreign affairs will probably monopolize convention debate because of its more controversial character, domestic affairs constitute the area where the ADA can do its most effective work. The key problem for the ADA, as well as American liberalism, is how to work for maximum national unity without permitting the slogan of "national unity" to create new injustices in our social fabric. The assumption of world leadership by the US means material shortages, back-breaking taxes, a manpower draft, tighter internal security legislation. All these are inevitable—and very dangerous.

The ADA must construct a program that accepts the inevitable while warding off the dangerous. This means price and wage controls that will not discriminate against wages for the further bloating of profits. This means allocations and priorities that are free of graft and black-markets. This means meeting a \$71 billion budget with taxes placed most heavily upon those best able to pay. This means a manpower draft with safeguards against a police-state. This means internal security legislation to ferret out spies and saboteurs, conducted by responsible bodies under democratic procedures to sift the innocent from the guilty, the dissenters from the disloyal, the reformer from the informer.

In an hour such as this, when the nation has been jolted from a rut, when we grope for new ideas, there is a premium on fresh, solid thinking. A well-organized group of highly articulate liberals, with vision and courage, can play a role far exceeding its exact numbers. One of the real difficulties in this period is the irresponsibles who seek to create a climate of non-inquiry, stand-pattism and panic. This compels American liberalism not only to create new ideas but also to fight for a *climate of opinion* where honest and dynamic American thought can get a proper hearing.

KRUPP: WHAT PRICE EXPEDIENCY?

THE RECENT freeing of the Krupp defendants by US High Commissioner John J. McCloy in Germany and the restoration of the Krupp industrial properties to Herr Krupp have come as a real shock to the American people. Americans who remember World War I still have not forgotten the stories of "Big Bertha," the monster gun named after Bertha Krupp, defendant Krupp's mother. And Americans of World War II cannot forget the awesome reality of the main Krupp works at Essen until the pinpoint demolition of these plants; nor can they forget the other formidable mining and industrial properties of the far-flung Krupp empire. When the Krupps are not only set free but restored to their largess, apparently rehabilitated with ECA funds, ordinary American folks throughout the country intuitively feel that the whole thing must be wrong. Perhaps they vaguely remember that it was from the same Landsberg prison that Hitler and Hess were freed under the German Republic.

The wholesale clemency now being practised toward war-crime defendants cannot be justified even as expediency. The Krupp action, on the contrary, supplies the Russian Communists with new propaganda material to the effect that we are now playing ball with the group which led the German industrialists in putting Hitler into power and in subjecting to Nazi control not only the labor unions but also the rest of German industry. Still worse, if we have freed the Krupps in order to be assured of their support against the Communists, the Russians may actually be laughing up their sleeves.

As proved in the war-crimes trial, the Krupps freely and actively collaborated with the Russian Communists. For about three years prior to Hitler's rise to power they were able to develop and perfect their Blitzkrieg tanks secretly from the rest of the world only because Russia permitted them to do so in Russia. In return, Krupp experts, wearing Russian officer uniforms, taught and instructed Russian cadets as well as German personnel. Finally, in 1939, when Hitler signed up with the Russian Communists he had lambasted, and commenced World War II, the Krupps, unlike Fritz Thyssen, did not leave Germany and forfeit their properties, but found it congenial to be on the side of the Communists.

The prosecution and trial of the Krupps was no mean

by **Joseph W. Kaufman**

undertaking to be set aside lightly by the stroke of a pen. The trial lasted over six months. There were 250 witnesses called by one side or the other, and 4,500 documents were introduced into evidence. Each of the 12 defendants was permitted two German lawyers, and Krupp had an American lawyer also. Three judges from American courts presided. Significantly, if only in connection with the sweeping clemency now accorded the defendants, no Krupp defendant ever took the stand to defend himself or to submit himself to cross-examination, on the charges.

Eleven of the twelve Krupp defendants were convicted, and all received jail sentences. They were convicted on the basis of personal guilt, not guilt by association, and they were convicted by proof beyond a reasonable doubt as required by the best American standards. The 11 defendants, including Krupp, were convicted of the infamous crime of using and abusing slave labor. Six of them, again including Krupp, were convicted of spoliation and plundering—of using the German war to enlarge and extend the Krupp industrial and economic empire.

None of the defendants was convicted on the "aggressive-war" count, charging the actual planning of aggressive war. However, the Krupp indictment charged the "aggressive-war" allegations not only as a separate war-crime count by itself but also as part and parcel of the slave labor and the spoliation counts. This was for the purpose of showing that the Krupps, by indulging in their slave labor and spoliation activities, were not in the category of patriotic citizens obeying orders in time of war or acting under Hitler's duress; that, in view of the Krupp part in secretly planning for war before Hitler and then boosting Hitler into power, the Krupps committed their war excesses with malice aforethought and criminal intent; and, most important of all, that in view of this past history they were not entitled to any mitigation of punishment on a plea that they acted under higher orders. The judges were entitled to give weight to the "aggressive-war" proof for this limited purpose, and perhaps this helps explain why the sweeping property-confiscation decree was added to the prison sentences.

Judge William J. Wilkins wrote a concurring opinion stressing the point that the prosecution's "aggressive-war" proof was "so convincing and so compelling" that there was "built up a strong *prima facie* case, as far as the implication of Gustav Krupp and the Krupp firm

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is concerned." Gustav was defendant Alfred Krupp's father and could not be tried because of his senility. Judge Wilkins also stated that he concurred in dismissing the "aggressive-war" count against the defendants only by giving them "the benefit of what may be called a very slight doubt, and although the evidence with respect to some of them was extraordinarily strong."

The judge summarized the highlights of this uncontroverted proof—the Krupp firm's clandestine development of armament, tanks and submarines in violation of the Versailles Treaty; its actual war plans and preparations, even before Hitler came into power, "in order that Germany might rise to fight again," as stated and fully described in the firm's own files; and Gustav Krupp's leadership of the industrialists' financial fund, which played such a vital part in boosting the then tottering Hitler into power. Defendant Alfred Krupp started with the firm in 1925, was a deputy board member in 1936, and a full board member in 1938. He certainly had knowledge of this background, and as a board member he participated. Moreover, as an early member of the Nazi Party and a colonel in the Nazi flying corps, he could not have been unsympathetic. He could hardly claim that he perpetrated his slave labor and spoliation crimes only because of Hitler and was, therefore, entitled to mitigation of punishment.

The prosecution also proved that defendant Alfred Krupp received a very handsome reward from Hitler for his continued participation in international criminality. This reward was the Krupp industrial properties. They had never belonged to Gustav, his father, who was not really a Krupp but had married Bertha, the Krupp heiress, and had adopted the Krupp name. And it was not preordained under Krupp tradition or by the firm's setup that Alfred would take over the properties even on his mother's death. Hitler, however, issued a special decree in 1943, the Lex Krupp, which placed the properties in Krupp family ownership in perpetuity, much like a kingdom of its own, and stated that this was done in recognition of "Krupp's incomparable efforts to boost the military potential of Germany." With Nazi approval Alfred took over.

The proof against the Krupps, including defendant Alfred Krupp, on the slave labor count in the trial was devastating. It was shown that the Krupps employed 75,000 foreign workers, 25,000 prisoners of war and 5,000 concentration-camp workers. Their crimes against foreign workers were not only against Russians and Poles, whom the Germans frankly treated as slaves and "subhumans," but extended to Western workers—Dutch, Belgian and French. Many of these workers were picked up in their own countries in manhunts, sometimes right off the streets, and required to go to Germany to

work for Krupp. Those who attempted to escape would find themselves in one of the Krupp "penal camps." A Catholic priest was an inmate—and prosecution witness. Other recalcitrants would be sent to the Gestapo. All the pertinent provisions of the Geneva Convention for prisoners of war were violated, and Alfred personally participated in instigating violations.

Defendant Alfred Krupp approved and signed an appropriation of two million marks for constructing a Krupp plant at Auschwitz, where concentration-camp workers would be freely available. At Essen, where he and his colleagues in crime could be eye-witnesses, 520 "Hungarian Jewesses," imported from concentration camps, were forced to engage in cruelly heavy labor outdoors and indoors. The girls, shorn of their hair and almost all clothing, lived a life of horror—with a bare cellar or worse for lodging, an open trench for air-raid shelter and filthy starvation rations for food.

On this record—and on a record of spoliation and plundering activities of gigantic dimensions and ruthless scope which will not be described here—defendant Alfred Krupp received a sentence of 12 years in jail, which does not seem excessive; and all his property was ordered confiscated. Great pressure was brought on Gen. Lucius D. Clay to disaffirm all the Krupp sentences, particularly the confiscation. But after protracted study by his legal department and careful consideration, he affirmed; the property, however, "to be subject to" confiscation.

During the administration of John McCloy, who, as high commissioner, succeeded Clay, nothing was ever done to put the confiscation into effect. In now annulling the confiscation, McCloy asserts that confiscation was not decreed in any other Nuremberg case, that nothing special was proved against defendant Krupp to warrant such "discrimination" against him, and that American tradition does not favor confiscation. He forgets that the proof against Krupp was very special—that Krupp obtained the industrial properties with Hitler's aid as a reward for criminality, that he used them as the instrumentality for perpetrating his slave labor crimes, and that he enriched them by criminal spoliation and plundering.

What price expediency? Krupp has been welcomed back by the Germans as a war hero, instead of a war criminal. The English, including conservative newspapers, have expressed bitter indignation, and so have the French. The Russians have been arming themselves with this new propaganda material, perhaps while wondering if they can make another deal with the Krupps. We, who criticize the UN on China, have created a new kind of international crime—crime without punishment.

TELEVISION AND EDUCATION

A New Republic Panel Discussion with the Co-operation of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters under the Chairmanship of SAUL CARSON, Radio-Television Editor

INTRODUCTION

TWENTY YEARS AGO, when radio was still young, there was a good deal of agitation about Education and Radio. In Congress, in petitions to the old Federal Radio Commission, and later before the Federal Communications Commission, demands were made that a percentage of all radio frequencies be set aside for non-commercial, educational broadcasters. By 1934, the drive had been squelched; commercial radio had won.

When radio was first developing as a mass medium there was great hope that it would usher in an era of adult education. That hope has not been realized to this day. Of the total of 2,200 radio stations now operating on the standard (AM, or amplitude modulation) frequencies, only 37 are licensed as non-commercial, educational broadcasters.

Frequency modulation (FM) came along after World War II. The FCC, without much argument from any group, set aside 20 percent of all FM channels for the exclusive use of non-commercial, educational licenses, of which there are 81 on the air now. Of the grand total of non-commercial, educational licensees, 114, or all but four, are members of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB).

Now television is riding high. There are 107 television stations on the air, and only one of these (WOI-TV, Ames, Iowa) holds a non-commercial, educational license.

Two years ago, FCC Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock, expressing separate views as part of a general channel-allocation proposal adopted by the Commission, suggested that a percentage of television channels be set aside for the exclusive use of non-commercial, educational broadcasters. None of the six other members of the FCC joined her, but educational broadcasters and other educators rallied behind the idea. Miss Hennock had suggested that the educational channels be reserved in the *ultra*-high-frequency (UHF) range of the spectrum, an area as yet not practically available for television, which, at present, operates in the *very*-high frequency (VHF). Soon Miss Hennock herself began to advise that assignment of channels in the UHF band was not good enough; she wanted educators to be able to broadcast television *now*, on the VHF bands. The United States Office of Education and the National Education Association supported Miss Hennock. So did the presidents of Land Grant colleges and state universities all over the country. A special group—the Joint Committee on Educational Television—was formed, with Dr. I. Keith Tyler as chairman. Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor, one of the American prosecutors at the Nuremberg trials, was engaged as counsel; he had been for a time, before World War II, Counsel-General for the FCC.

Last November, the FCC opened a series of hearings

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THAD H. BROWN Jr., Counsel, Television Broadcasters Association

FRANKLIN DUNHAM, Chief of Radio, United States Office of Education

ROBERT HUDSON, Director, University Broadcasting, and Chairman, Radio Division of School of Journalism, University of Illinois

BURTON PAULU, Manager, KUOM, radio station of the University of Minnesota; Secretary, National Association of Educational Broadcasters

GEORGE PROBST, Director of Radio, Professor of Social Science, University of Chicago

SEYMOUR N. SIEGEL, President, National Association of Educational Broadcasters; Director of Radio Communications, City of New York (WNYC and WNYC-FM)

CHARLES A. SIEPMANN, Professor of Education and Chairman, Department of Communications, New York University

DALLAS W. SMYTHE, Professor, Institute of Communications Research, University of Illinois; Director of Studies, National Association of Educational Broadcasters

TELFORD TAYLOR, Counsel, Joint Committee on Educational Television; former Counsel-General, Federal Communications Commission

I. KEITH TYLER, Professor of Education and Director of Radio Education, Ohio State University; Chairman, Joint Committee on Educational Television

on Miss Hennock's proposal. The issue had now been clarified. The educators wanted a very definite percentage—25 percent—of *all* television channels, VHF as well as UHF, reserved in perpetuity for non-commercial, educational broadcasting. The first series of hearings was adjourned December 8. On January 22, the hearings were resumed in Washington. With all the interested parties present or represented in Washington at the time, the *New Republic* conducted its symposium on Television and Education in the Capital on the night of January 23. Of the eleven participants, only one—the counsel for the Television Broadcasters Association—represented the commercial branch of the industry. Other industry representatives had been invited to participate and some had accepted, but for various reasons only Mr. Brown was at the symposium to voice industry's views.

As Chairman, Mr. Carson asked Miss Hennock to state the main problem.

The Crowded Spectrum

MISS HENNOCK. The future of television is critical at the present time, for the FCC is about to open up for licensing all of the remaining television spectrum space. This allocation will determine, perhaps for all time, how and by whom television is to be used. I believe that 25 percent of all television channels should be reserved for the use of educators on a non-commercial basis. Education now faces its last chance on television, and the American public now faces its last chance to have educational-TV on a wide scale in every school and home in America.

Television can do either tremendous good or incalculable harm. In five years, Americans have bought more than 10 million television sets. TV has quickly won the public's fancy and has literally captured the imagination of our children. In their interest, we must see to it that this powerful medium is also used for cultural advancement—for education as well as entertainment.

CHAIRMAN. As we go into our discussion, I think it would be well to note that there are two points on which there is general agreement. One—about which there is no argument whatever—is that there is a scarcity of radio and television channels. If agreement on the other point is not unanimous, there has at least been no dispute. I have never heard the most hidebound commercial broadcaster say: "I am not interested in using television for educational purposes." Education, in its relation to broadcasting, is like virtue: everybody is for it. But the definitions differ.

The broadcasting of a symphony orchestra—is that educational? The broadcasting of programs like "We Take Your Word" or "Twenty Questions" or "Information Please"—is that educational broadcasting?

I know from the record that a number of you here have

an opinion on what we mean by *educational* TV. Dr. Siepmann may be willing to start that part of the discussion.

DR. SIEPMANN. Do you want me, in effect, to define "education"?

CHAIRMAN. Yes, in its relation to television.

DR. SIEPMANN. It seems to me important that we have some basic agreement as to what we are discussing, and I am inclined to give education a confined meaning in order to bring out my views about its relation to television.

I would restrict it as follows: Education is the progressive and orderly development of knowledge and insight. For me, the two important words there are "progressive" and "orderly," and the definition applies to television both in the context of schools and in the context of adult education.

Another fact to be stressed is that no education is worthwhile that does not involve the sympathetic interplay of minds, an immature mind with a mature mind. The process of education is the fusion of experience with inexperience. The subject matter can be anything that relates to human experience. In a broad sense, it is simply the process by which we come to understand ourselves and our neighbors and our world and our world inheritance.

That defines the scope of the term as I should like to see it discussed tonight.

CHAIRMAN. I think we should ask Mr. Brown whether anything has been said, so far, with which the Television Broadcasters Association disagrees.

MR. BROWN. First of all, I should like to express the feeling of the TBA with regard to education and, perhaps, offer our definition of education—attempting to apply it to television and to all broadcasts.

It seems to us that education can be divided into two parts. First, classroom instruction. Perhaps that is what Dr. Siepmann meant when he described education as being a progressive, orderly system.

Our second definition of education would be: a preparation for living in the general sense.

At this point, we must supplement these two definitions with one touching upon broadcast or telecast. It seems to us that broadcast or telecast is the indiscriminate sending of signals for reception by all citizens, and that it is based upon the concept of the greatest good for the greatest number.

Instruction in the classroom manner is not broadcast in the sense we know it. It is a function of radio and television that is most desirable, one that should be thoroughly investigated by the industry, the Commission and the educators, particularly with an eye to microwave* relay. We feel that there may be an answer there; so far as I know, educators

* Microwave is transmission on a point-to-point basis. It is used by the telephone companies now to relay TV where coaxial cable or land lines are not available.

have not stressed it. Apparently the costs would be small, and microwave would be a means of providing a direct service to television receiving sets from the finest teachers and with the finest facilities.

On the other hand, when we contemplate broadcast as the indiscriminate sending of signals to all American citizens, based upon the concept of the greatest good for the greatest number, we feel that we must present a type of program which meets this definition.

CHAIRMAN. I wonder whether we might not try to get one more definition of education, especially as it relates to broadcasting. Dr. Tyler, would you like to add to, or perhaps amend, some of the things that have been said?

DR. TYLER. A definition of educational television would have to stem from the use to be made of it. Here, we ought to talk about the purpose of a broadcast.

It is quite clear that almost any broadcast can be *used* in an educational fashion. If you are studying commercials to see their effect upon people, then the commercials on television would be educational for you—but that is not what we are talking about. We are talking about the intent of the people who create the programs.

An educational telecast might be put on by commercial broadcasters; it might be put on by educational institutions.

I think the problem before the Commission is to decide from the experience of the past whether we are more likely to get such educationally intended programs from commercial stations, or from educational institutions provided a special place in the spectrum.

DR. DUNHAM. I should like to take issue immediately with Mr. Brown on his broad assumption that television, and perhaps radio, should have for its objective the greatest good for the greatest number. I do not think there is anyone here tonight who does not realize that that definition has a little "debbil" in it, and the little "debbil" is that broadcasting thereupon falls into the error of producing programs at the lowest common denominator.

I believe thoroughly in the American system of broadcasting. I think the American system of broadcasting is inherently a fair system; it takes into consideration the industry, and it takes into consideration education. This is the only country in the world that grants licenses to educational institutions and to public-school systems.

And now, since we have set aside radio frequencies especially for education, it seems to me only logical that we should set aside television frequencies as well.

[At this point, Mr. Siegel was asked to comment on Mr. Brown's proposal that the educators use microwave broadcasting.]

MR. SIEGEL. The use of microwave might be extremely beneficial where you have, let us say, a half-dozen or a dozen schools. In a large metropolitan area, like New York for instance, you have over 800 school buildings. The installa-

tion and operation of microwave transmitters and receivers in the New York area would cost enough to run four television transmitters with accessory studio equipment.

I should like now to give some background for the position of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

We are a nation committed to the theory of mass democracy, of placing the burden of government on the 152 million people who live in this country. At the same time, we have the media of mass communications. It seems to me that if we do not use them to create a capacity for reasoned judgment, our citizens cannot make the informed choices that are so necessary to democracy. It is unreasonable to expect that commercial broadcasters will devote as much time to the development of this reasoned judgment as we consider necessary.

The Mythical Majority

MR. HUDSON. I want to pick up a cue that was offered by Dr. Dunham and Mr. Brown in part when they declared themselves in favor of the American system of broadcasting. I am in favor of it, and I think most of us are.

The great thing that can be said, I think, for the American system of broadcasting is that, at least theoretically, it offers listeners freedom to choose what they will hear. Our system potentially gives the adult citizens of the country a real choice, but in the actual practice of competitive commercial broadcasting there is very little choice.

When I was examining the radio material available in Illinois about a year ago, I made a fairly quick check of all the clear-channel stations from Cincinnati into Iowa, including Chicago and St. Louis, and of all the regional stations which, to a large degree, service the state. It was apparent that, between 6 o'clock and 10 o'clock at night, when most people are available for listening, Illinois residents had, basically, two choices: they could listen to news and news comment, or to entertainment. There were about a half-dozen exceptions in the course of the week.

In American radio there is a general misconception of audience and of the so-called mass audience in particular. It is only on rare occasions that a *majority* of the people actually listen; by and large there is no such thing as a majority audience. The commercial broadcasters, competing for the mass "minority" audience, are a little reminiscent of the so-called robber barons who exploited the forests and the natural resources of an earlier frontier. They cut virgin timber in great swaths across the country to supply an insistent market; later they returned and worked more carefully the many timber stands which had been considered unprofitable in the first phase of the "come and get it" era.

Now that television is bidding strongly for the mass "minority" audience, it may be that radio will undertake to service some of the smaller though none the less significant and profitable audiences which it has hitherto ignored.

MR. PAULU. The discussion of educational television may become meaningful when viewed against the back-

ground of educational radio. From the start, educators recognized the importance of radio in their work; they saw it as a challenge and as a tool. From the start, they sought regular time on the air. To get that time they could go to stations licensed for commercial operation, or they could license their own stations. They did both. Some commercial broadcasters, though by no means all of them, were interested, understanding and helpful.

But even when they did co-operate, it soon became apparent that commercial broadcasters could not give enough time over a long enough period to do some of the jobs that needed to be done. Therefore, educational broadcasters began to develop their own stations.

Many of these stations were licensed by universities. The station of which I am manager, KUOM, at the University of Minnesota, is one such example. Others were licensed by school systems as in Chicago, Cleveland or New York. A few were licensed by municipalities (like WNYC). These stations offer a type of service that is not duplicated elsewhere, and one reason why we educational broadcasters are interested in television is because we feel that those institutions which have licensed and operated such stations have succeeded to the point where their experience can be extended into television to the great benefit of the public.

CHAIRMAN. I should like to ask Mr. Probst if he will speak to the point Mr. Paulu has just discussed. Mr. Probst is a broadcaster who has done a good deal of work in co-operation with the commercial part of the industry.

MR. PROBST. Educational radio, though important, has never competed successfully with commercial radio; the quality of radio today is the quality that the industry has imposed on it. We ought to face the question of whether the American people can be convinced that the educators will accomplish in television what they were unable to do in radio. We must realize that if we cannot show that we can do so, we shall not deserve their support. Consequently, there are some questions that I should like to throw at this group.

Why did the things happen to radio that did happen?

Why did education come to play so small a part in radio?

Why is it that when we come now to an obviously simple proposition—that the educators should have some share of the television frequencies—we are struggling for something that many of us feel we are unlikely to win?

MR. BROWN. I should like to say that in our opinion it is a matter of audience. Broadcasting out into open space, to dark sets, does not do anybody any good. And there is no earthly way of forcing an adult or a child to tune his television set to a particular station. There are no truant officers to require attendance at television school.

That is one of the reasons why we feel that the commercial telecaster, with his know-how, and I say this advisedly, his brilliant know-how so far as obtaining an audience is concerned, can do the best job for educational television. He can do the best job because he has the audience.

I am sure that Commissioner Hennock would be very much surprised to find that the FCC has licensed a bunch of robber barons. I am sure she does not believe that. And I hope that Mr. Hudson really does not believe it himself.

We do not for one moment feel that education does not have a place in television. It is one of the requirements of our balanced programming. We want to induce the educators to come to us, so that we can co-operate with them in the development of programs that will attract audiences, so that there will not be a wastage through an extremely limited audience.

In addition, I am afraid we have been accepting one false premise here this evening—that is the notion that channels are set aside for commercial telecasters and that for some reason or other educational institutions do not have equal access to these channels. That is patently not true. The television channels that have been allocated by the FCC are accessible to any American citizen, organization, agency, corporation, or whatever, that can prove that it has the legal, technical, financial and programming qualifications.

I should like to ask one question myself. It has been requested that a certain number of channels be reserved for non-commercial educational stations. To us that is a special classification. We should like to know, and I believe that in all fairness we should know, exactly what we mean when we talk about non-commercial educational stations.

Of course, we assume that they would be public-school systems, state colleges, and so forth. But I ask if they would not also include farm unions, labor unions, the WCTU, the American Legion. All, mind you, non-commercial and having educational programs.

Would the American Medical Association be included? A representative of the AMA appeared at the hearing today, and I noticed representatives of several labor unions. Are they included in this special classification?

MISS HENNOCK. I think a broad, flexible definition should fit the bill. I think any group that is willing to come in and spend a fortune to educate and to enlighten the people on a non-commercial basis, provided it is otherwise qualified as a licensee, ought to have that privilege. Perhaps General Taylor would like to answer that, too.

A New Economic Base

MR. TAYLOR. I should like to start a little further back than that, if I may. There is, of course, education in the sense of pedagogy. And I suppose that is the kind which is systematic, which is sequential and which tries to impart information in a way that forms an intelligible pattern in a person's mind. But I think like Mr. Brown—and I agree with him on this, although I do not agree, I am afraid, on very much else—that there is another kind of education which he called "preparation for living," a very good phrase. I suppose it means cultivating one's capacity for satisfaction.

To my notion, broadcasting ought to cover both meanings of education. It ought to include some systematic pedagogy;

it ought to include programs that enrich and vary our tastes and teach us to discriminate. And why does it not do a better job at these things?

Broadcasting is something you can do something about. But the trouble is that nobody ever, or very often, does it. And usually the criticisms of broadcasting take the form of heaping abuse on the heads of the network executives and the radio advertisers, saying that these men do not discriminate, do not care to put on anything worth while.

I do not think it is a matter of lack of understanding or a matter of the individual. I do not think matters would be improved by changing management. I think we come down here to the limitations of the commercial advertising system itself. And what is described as the American system of broadcasting—a hallowed phrase in commercial broadcasting circles—means today simply a system in which the advertiser pays the piper and calls the tune. It should be pointed out that what the American broadcasting system really means is a system free from government control—nothing requires it to be based on commercial advertising.

The unfortunate limitations in the variety and scope of broadcasting hinge on the fact that they are all based on one economic base. That, I think, is why the case of the educational broadcasters is sound; it is the most promising way to get a new kind of economic base under a part of the broadcasting system, so that programs can be put on which do not have to be constantly geared to the advertisers' market.

Just one word on the matter of the truant officer. Mr. Brown is quite right that no one can be made to turn on a television set. But compare television or radio with that other medium of mass communication, the newspaper. We know there are different kinds of newspapers, and that within a newspaper you get an enormous variety of appeal. There is no truant officer to make anybody read Walter Lippmann. Nobody forces anyone to read the book-review section of the *New York Times*. It is printed because the medium has traditionally been a varied one to appeal to varied tastes.

I think the notion that broadcasting should appeal only to the biggest audience, measured by an advertiser's gauge, is the root of the problem.

CHAIRMAN. Perhaps Dr. Smythe can enlarge on what General Taylor has told us about what broadcasting is actually doing, especially the television part of broadcasting.

DR. SMYTHE. Mr. Brown argues that it is the firm policy of the commercial broadcaster to provide balanced programs, and that this is a safeguard protecting the public against deficiencies that might otherwise need to be supplied by educators operating under some reservation of frequencies.

I had the privilege today of testifying before the FCC on the study we made in New York two weeks ago. For one full week, we monitored the programs of seven television stations from the time they signed on until the time they signed off, every day. The testimony showed that if all of the programs of all seven stations are taken at 100 percent, 25 percent is represented by drama of various kinds, includ-

ing the domestic, crime, Western, comedy, romance, musical and others.

The next largest category of programs is variety, at 14 percent. Next is children's programs, including puppets and marionettes, cartoons, quiz stunts and amateur thrillers, Westerns, stories, variety, teenage variety, and so forth, which take up 12 percent of the total time. Sports and home-making programs each account for 10 percent more.

By now one is down to very small figures: news, five percent; public issues, two percent; public events, one percent; information, three percent; religion, one percent.

Does Mr. Brown think this represents the kind of balanced programming that is consistent with the policy he describes and, if not, can he suggest what is to be done about it?

Channels and Monopoly

MR. BROWN. I heard part of Dr. Smythe's testimony today, and I am not yet able to determine whether several dramas that I have witnessed within the last two weeks would be classified as educational or just commercial drama. Ibsen's "Doll's House" was a commercial program. Whether Dr. Smythe would call that educational, I do not know. Several nights ago, I saw Helen Hayes in "Victoria Regina." That, too, was a commercial show. Whether he would call it educational, I do not know. I had the pleasure of seeing "Macbeth" on television. It was a commercial show. To me, it was most educational.

We have already mentioned the fact that there is a limited number of channels available in the television spectrum. There are 12 channels in the so-called very high frequencies. They have been allocated since 1945. The Commission presently proposes to add 42 additional channels from the ultra high frequencies.

With only 54 channels allocable in television as now proposed by the FCC, our great fear is that, if 25 percent is deleted from commercial telecast, the American type of broadcast and telecast will be so stunted, will have so many implications of potential monopoly, that we may not accomplish the objective which the FCC set in 1945, of a truly nationwide competitive television service.

MR. SIEGEL. Do you think those 54 channels are going to spread a nationwide service, even if they were given entirely to commercial operators?

MR. BROWN. I can say this, on behalf of the Television Broadcasters Association: that we have recommended to the Commission that all of the spectrum between 470 and 890 megacycles be presently standardized upon, and allocated to, telecast. As I recall, there are 70 channels that would be made available—added to the 12 in the very high frequency, that would make 82. However, we must go on the situation as it exists. The Commission's present proposal is 54.

MISS HENNOCK. That is not at all definite, you know. By the way, you spoke of a competitive system. Do you

mean competition between A and B in giving soap operas or murder mysteries? Too often, unfortunately, that is the predominant pattern. Do you mean a nationwide service in soap operas or murder mysteries; or perhaps could you conceive of a different type of competition, a competition between programming, the opportunity to give the people, the public, a chance to hear and see the finest in drama and art and culture and history; to see and get to know the finest teachers in the country; to benefit from the resources of our greatest educational institutions? Or do you just want competition within the same old programming we have had for 30 years, except adding sight and making it that much more unsightly?

MR. PROBST. The only way we can make people realize the situation, so that they will support the role of education in television is to state the situation very simply: if you want education you must rely on the educator; if you want to improve the quality of citizenship in this country, you must rely on the educator; if you want to improve the cultural taste of this country, you must rely on the educator. You cannot load all of these functions on the commercial broadcaster and say to him, "Make money and do these things, too."

DR. TYLER. I would like to direct my remarks to the argument concerning school broadcasting. I certainly would not write off school telecasts on the basis of what has happened in radio, because it seems to me that the picture there is a mixed one. We have plenty of illustrations to show that where school broadcasting has been taken seriously, it has accomplished great things. In some communities—for example in rural areas in some of our Midwestern states and in some places in the South—where the resources for education are poor, radio broadcasts have made a great contribution by bringing into the classrooms stimulating materials which have helped the teachers and students to organize their experiences. The evidence is clear that school educators are looking with much greater interest toward television.

The Cost of Television

CHAIRMAN. On the point of cost, Dr. Tyler, would you mind telling us about the testimony that you gave before the FCC this morning?

DR. TYLER. I pointed out that, while television is expensive from one point of view, it is not expensive from another. In an area like Allegany County, Maryland, which is small in population and not prosperous, there are 10 high-school gymnasiums—each of which represents an expenditure of probably the equivalent of a television station. When communities are impressed with the potentialities of television for reaching their children and for reaching the community, they will find themselves able to afford it.

MR. PAULU. On this question of costs I would like to make a few comments, also.

It is true that television is expensive. A transmitter and the accompanying equipment cost about \$250,000. The annual operating budget for a television station would probably run between \$300,000 and \$400,000. These are very considerable sums of money, but given the budgets of many larger educational organizations, such operations become entirely possible.

For example, the annual operating budget of the public-school system of Detroit is approximately \$90 million; that of Los Angeles is something like \$106 million. There are a number of large state universities whose annual appropriation runs from \$20 million to \$50 million. And the expense of the public-school system in New York City is about \$500 million per year.

For such organizations, the financing of television stations is quite feasible, once the administrators are convinced of the value of the medium.

MR. HUDSON. There are some points which Mr. Probst raised a little while ago that have not been adequately dealt with yet. And Mr. Brown made two or three points earlier with which most of us are in agreement—though perhaps we see their resolution in rather different ways.

I agree that one of the principal things we want to avoid is waste of facilities. But it is my contention that in radio a large percentage of our facilities are being wasted by being addressed, not only to limited audiences, but to only one of the many audiences that should be served.

One must remember that the key statistic in radio is "sets-not-in-use." Look at the Hooper or Nielsen reports for any time during the day, any day. You will find that between 80 and 87 percent of the sets are not in use. Any evening you will find that between 70 and 85 percent of the sets are idle. I maintain that we are thus wasting our radio facilities because we are not providing the balanced-program service that a great number of audiences, small audiences (all audiences are relatively small) want.

MR. TAYLOR. Dr. Smythe spoke about some of the results of the survey that he and Dr. Donald C. Horton recently conducted; then he more or less challenged Mr. Brown to say: was that good, and if not, why was it not better? And Mr. Brown replied by mentioning some excellent programs on the networks, plays by Ibsen and Shakespeare, and more or less threw the question back; "Is that not educational?"

I would agree with Mr. Brown that those things are, in the best sense, education, but I do not think he answered Dr. Smythe's challenge.

The answer is not that there are one or two or three or a few more good educational shows on the air. The answer must consider the proportion of them, and it must indicate the trend. If the trend were up, one might be encouraged.

For years and years, the Columbia Broadcasting System carried the New York Philharmonic-Symphony at 3 o'clock on Sunday afternoon. It had become a fixture in many American homes. It was a splendid program and people

counted on it. But CBS now records it on tape and broadcasts it a week later at 1 o'clock when everybody is at Sunday dinner.

The shift was not due to any lack of appreciation on the part of Columbia. The fact of the matter was that Columbia began to get complaints that the Symphony was driving away the commercial audience from programs later in the afternoon. And then CBS found that its affiliates were dropping the Symphony.

The economic base, the advertising base, was responsible for the devaluation of that program. And until we can get some other base into the situation, there is no reason to expect anything but a downward trend.

MR. PROBST. I should like to make two points: The first is the immediate danger that the individual may be deceived into never giving the American educator a chance to keep television from going the way of radio. He may be deceived by the assertion that the educator will not use television as a mass medium, but will so use it that many sets will be dark and only a minority service will be provided.

Does any individual regard himself as a mass? Is there any such thing as a mass audience—a mass public? Is there not really a whole series of publics of different interests and different dispositions and different educational backgrounds? And should not the educator attempt to serve the many un-served groups in this country?

My second point is that one of the functions of educational television should be to provide an area for experimentation. The medium is freezing more rapidly into forms and conventions than any observer would have believed possible. I cite the following evidence.

A few weeks ago I spent several hours with Burr Tilstrom, the creator of "Kukla, Fran, and Ollie." Mr. Tilstrom told me that if his program were not already on the air, and if he were to obtain an audition for it under the present conditions of television, he is sure that it could not be accepted by a commercial television station. It would not fit any of the established formats; no room could be found for it.

We must not let ourselves be deceived into not giving the educator a chance.

Adults or Children

MR. SIEPMANN. It seems to me important that we come back to the basic question of our strategy; that we recognize the present struggle for the reservation of channels as only Round One in a long and tough fight.

I think that we can defer for the moment the discussion of the specific ways and means by which, if such channels were reserved, they would be used: what colleges, what trade unions, who would actually be operating or contributing to the operation of those reserved channels.

Before we can even begin to clear up that point, it is essential that we see what the real nature of our objective is, and my emphasis may not be precisely that of others around this table.

With respect to school education, I confess myself a skeptic. The FCC did make a reservation of frequencies in the FM band. That option has been very partially taken up by the educators. In terms of this precedent, television for school purposes does not seem to me to have too happy a future. Even if the educators were ready to jump in, I still see obstacles. I question whether the academic world, even if it could muster the requisite finances, could perform a really professional job.

No one has yet shown, I think, that the service that television has to offer the school surpasses the present resources of the film. My own belief is that the educators should continue with the professional development of films, on which a good beginning has been made, and realize that there is almost nothing except spot news—the inauguration of a President, for example—which television has to offer the schools that films cannot do just as well.

Those points, I think, should make us wonder whether we are well advised in placing a major emphasis on the use of television for schools. The primary need of education, as I see it, is improved training for teachers. Teaching in the schools will, as it always has, depend in the last instance on the teacher, and if we are going to spend more money I should like to see better-paid and better-qualified teachers.

But having in that sense, as it were, dismissed school television as a priority, I want to change front completely and throw the weight of my conviction into the need for the reservation of those channels in the interests of adults. And this, for reasons that seem to me of great moment.

I am convinced that you are witnessing today the Golden Age of television—that there are actually more programs of quality and originality on the air today than there will be five, ten, fifteen years from now, because the operation of simple economic laws will drive sponsors increasingly to the lowest-common-denominator program. I abandon commercial television to mass entertainment and have the smallest hope of its producing a diversity even comparable to what radio has provided.

The need of our society is for choice—and a much wider choice than radio ever achieved—and for that continuity of experience out of which growing audiences can be built and out of which alone they can be built.

Turning back now to the child, the prospect of children becoming adults in the real sense of the term is at the moment unhappily affected by the struggle, the competitive struggle, of the schools with the mass media for the minds and hearts of children.

The tragedy that we are seeing now, and television makes it an even greater tragedy, is the premature graduation of our children to the immaturity of adult seniors. And that is going to go on until we cure the adults.

My plea is that we should realize that the demand for reserved channels is only the first round of a big fight; that the emphasis should be placed on the needs of the population to achieve adulthood through diversity and continuity of service; that we recognize from past history that there is little prospect of this being done unless channels

are reserved for use by persons whose genuine desire is to provide the service that the people need. It will take a tremendous propaganda campaign in this country to make people aware of the fact that education is a basic condition of survival for a democratic society.

DR. SMYTHE. I suspect that the argument between Dr. Siepmann and Dr. Tyler over the proper target of educators using television is largely due to the economics of our educational system. It should be obvious to anybody who looks into the economics of education in the United States that, while Dr. Tyler's forecast of what television offers to education may be a hopeful possibility, the realistic chances of accomplishing a great deal in a short time are rather on the side of Dr. Siepmann.

It seems to me that in the adult educational area lies the handle whereby we may set our immovable object in motion. And I agree with what Charles Siepmann has said about the cycle of immaturity between adult and youth and the importance of breaking that cycle at the point where the adult realizes some of the deficiencies in the communications field. Children cannot be expected to be aware of the shortcomings; we can expect it of adults.

MISS HENNOCK. Much has been made of the scarcity of channels; it has been asked why, under the circumstances, we propose to set them aside. But that is just the point. If they were not scarce we would not have an allocation proceeding; anybody could get a channel.

Many people feel that too much space is allotted to television. Television takes a six-megacycle band for one channel. That is a great deal of spectrum space when you realize that a one-megacycle band covers the entire standard broadcasting system.

As a Commissioner, I must ask myself: "Should we give all of this space to television? And just what function does it serve in this country, in culture and in the preservation of our heritage?" Surely it will never achieve the heights that it should, both as an electronic development and as a medium of mass communication, if it is not used by the best minds and in the most effective way, by men on the commercial side, and by educators too. I cannot conceive of leaving educators out of this picture.

And it is not sufficient to say, "Come in and compete." Educators cannot compete with commercial interests. That has been shown in standard broadcasting. Many institutions would have come in, as they testified in the FCC proceedings, and would have done a fine job in standard broadcasting, but they could not compete in the broadcast frequencies.

And as regards FM, they did come in. True, they have only some 88 stations, but do not forget that before an educational institution can get its station budget adopted by a school board or a city council or a state legislature, it must prove the necessity for that station, and it cannot do so if there are no FM receivers in the area it proposes to cover.

Now we have television. As to the availability of sets—you have seen how television has captured the imagination of

the public; how there are 10 million sets outstanding, despite the fact that we have only 107 stations. There is no question about the fact that the public wants it, and there is no reason why educators should not go to their financial agents and get the funds. But they need time—plenty of it.

I have sought to cast no reflection on commercial broadcasters. I have never referred to them as robber barons. I disagree with that view. We have some very good ones who do an excellent job in their type of broadcasting, but the profit motive and education are incompatible. When you must pay stockholders and show a profit at the end of the year, it is very difficult to worry about whether you are giving French and history and philosophy and all of the other types of programs that I am sure Dr. Siepmann had in mind in his discussion.

In 1951, more than \$8 billion will be spent in this country on education. That is an increase of 100 percent in the last seven years. Surely some of that can go to television. When I see the budget in New York, which one of you referred to as \$500 million, and when I know that the Board of Education in New York wants a station, that the State Board of Regents wants a whole educational network, it certainly seems to me the least expensive form of education. Where can you get two million classrooms—and there are two million sets in the New York area at this very moment—without spending a dime to acquire them? And where do you have greater resources than the educational institutions in New York? Why not air them?

Conclusion

AFTER TAKING the testimony of industry spokesmen, among them Frank Stanton, president of CBS, Justin Miller, then president of the NAB, and Kenneth Baker, research director of the NAB, the FCC adjourned its public hearings on the reservation of channels. It may be several months before the Commission publishes its decision. Meanwhile, the industry can be counted upon to maintain a quiet campaign for its viewpoint and, unless the public now supports the educators by writing to Commissioner Hennock, to the NAEB, to the Joint Committee on Educational Television and to members of Congress, the commercial interests are likely to impose on television the same theory of "education" that they have maintained in radio. If the broadcasters once get control of all the TV channels, they will never give them up.

Portions of this symposium, transcribed into a half-hour radio program from the tape-recording of the discussion, will be broadcast over stations of the NAEB. The United States Office of Education also plans to distribute the program for use by about 50 stations. The *New Republic* wishes to thank the members of the panel and the NAEB for making the symposium and the broadcasts possible.

S. C.

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Army Engineers Are Too Generous*

THE WATER filtration plant proposed to be built on filled-in land in the very center of the outer Chicago Harbor is more than an engineering project. It is a considerable financial undertaking which possesses interesting possibilities that have kept the mouths of the "inside boys" watering for many months (without benefit of a filtration plant). The gentry in Chicago, who know what and where graft is, regard this project as probably the last big killing for "the boys" for many years to come. Nothing else of its size that would be assailable is in sight. It is something to get for nothing from the openhanded Army Engineers property that belongs to the public and is worth \$20 million.

It is estimated that the over-all cost of the project will be some \$105 million. This covers only the first project which it is proposed to build on the initial 61 acres of filled-in land. Having inserted such a huge foot in the door, it is to be expected that, in due course, the Chicago *Tribune*-trained Commissioner of Public Works, Mr. Hewitt, will be able to think of other projects, necessary to the "welfare," to say nothing of the "defense" and "security," of Chicago. In any event, \$105 million is quite a tempting morsel to the light-fingered.

Some years ago, when I was US Administrator of Public Works, I asked a man, whose name would be recognized in all parts of the country, what the ordinary cut was to the politicians of a city out of the sums paid contractors for public works. The mere giving of this man's name and the listing of his varied political occupations would, of themselves, qualify him as the expert that he was recognized as being. His unblushing reply was "20 percent." And yet, recently we made quite a to-do about the little pickings of the "five percenters" who were active in Washington in connection with the re-sale or the practically free distribution of unused war assets—many of which we are again beginning to buy at enhanced costs in a seller's market.

Now any school boy could figure out what 20 percent of \$105 million would amount to. The reader can do it by mental arithmetic, without help from anyone. It would make a tidy sum for the "inside boys" to divide in silence and stow away, as is their wont, in safety-deposit boxes, without the benefit of any snooping income-tax collector. No wonder that there is such eagerness on the part of "the boys" to see to it that their buddies living along the North Shore of Chicago and Cook County get the purest possible water to drink as well as to bathe in, if and when any of them feels the inclination to take a bath. Even if the full 20 percent is not paid to the in-

siders by a grateful contractor—who, of course, would not pay it himself but merely add it to the cost of the project—there is no gainsaying the fact that the possibility of substantial graft out of this municipal contract is something to gladden the hearts of men who ought to be in the penitentiary for similar offenses.

One interesting fact that ought to impress Chicagoans who know their city and the manner in which it has generally been run in the past is that the late Edward J. Kelly, mayor for many terms, was a strong advocate of this undertaking. Who knows but that Robert R. McCormick's beating of the drums for the filtration plant was brought about by this close friend of his for so many years. Be it remembered, if anyone is prone to forget it, that Mr. Kelly and Mr. McCormick were close bipartisan friends from the days when they both had jobs with the Sanitary District of Chicago which was under Mr. Kelly's political control before and after he became the mayor of Chicago.

So in giving their outrageous permit to the city of Chicago to fill in the initial 61 acres of the Chicago Harbor, the Army Engineers have earned the gratitude not only of the Chicago *Tribune*, Richard Finnegan of the Chicago *Sun-Times* and Commissioner Hewitt but of various and sundry political coyotes who skulk through the alleys and by-ways of Chicago looking for a bit of "legitimate" graft. To certain infestious bipeds, any graft is "legitimate" that can be enjoyed without interference by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. There have even been individuals so fortunate that they have been able to go scot-free even after tangling with the "Revenuers."

The Army Engineers regard it as a primary duty to please public officials by approving, or even building, public works that may not be necessary but which attract votes to candidates for re-election. Naturally, in consideration of the boon granted to them by the Army Engineers, public officials elected with their support are not disregarding of any request on the part of the Army Engineers for favors and protections that they insist upon, even though they may not be for the good of the country. The Army Engineers are the most potent lobby and pressure group in Washington. They are ruthless in attaining their ends which frequently seem to be to curry favor with the private power utilities, the railroads and other great corporations that may be in a position to give them soft jobs at big salaries after they retire from government service with generous pensions.

HAROLD L. ICKES

BOOKS IN REVIEW

"MALICIOUS PANORAMA OF LATE VICTORIAN THOUGHT"

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY has never lost interest in the great Victorian debate about religion and science and the attempt by nineteenth-century men of letters to develop a humanist ideal which on the one hand could provide a less vulnerable set of first principles than those provided by Christian fundamentalism and on the other could set the goals both for culture and for social progress. New books on such figures as Ruskin and Matthew Arnold continue to be written and read, and such recent

by David Daiches

positions utterly ridiculous but sufficiently to bring out hidden contradictions and implied inconsistencies both in the points of view and in the characters of their proponents.

Not that Mallock is ever wholly fair to his victims—only Ruskin (represented by Mr. Herbert), whom Mallock genuinely admired, is treated both fairly and sympathetically. On the other hand, it is often very difficult to lay one's finger precisely on where the distortion lies. Mr. Luke, for example, who represents Matthew Arnold, presents the Arnoldian point of view with remarkable accuracy; he suggests the original not only in his view of culture and his insistence on defining Christianity so as to lose sight altogether of its differentiating qualities as a religion and a theology and subsume it in a larger humanism, but also in vocabulary and in mannerisms of style. Yet by the end of the book Mallock has succeeded in presenting him as a somewhat absurd figure. This is achieved partly by the dramatic device of bringing in Luke's contribution to the discussion at the points where its resemblance to more clearly untenable positions can be noted, and partly by a subtle distribution of emphases in his argument which are not altogether Arnold's.

works as Basil Willey's *Nineteenth Century Studies* are rightly treated by reviewers as helpful attempts to search nineteenth-century thought for ideas that can be developed and used in our present discontents. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that W. H. Mallock's ironical masterpiece directed against these Victorian culture-seekers should be so ignored in this country today.

Published in complete form in 1877, after an earlier abbreviated appearance in the magazine *Belgravia*, *The New Republic* had an immediate success and there were frequent new editions in the latter part of the nineteenth century. This success derived largely from the fact that it was a *roman à clef*, a novel in which most of the characters were drawn from distinguished originals. Bringing his heroes together in a relaxed atmosphere of country-house ease and setting them to discuss the ideal life, Mallock had in mind such diverse models as Plato's *Republic*, the *Satyricon* of Petronius Arbiter, and the novels of Thomas Love Peacock; but his originality lay in the brilliance with which he exposed the weaknesses in the thought of such men as Arnold, Pater and Dr. Jowett by making them parody themselves, not so absurdly as to make their

by having his broad church views and his liberal interpretation of Christianity set in a context that makes him appear evasive, intellectually cowardly and foolishly optimistic. The unsuspected implications of many a thinker's views are effectively brought out by having some unexpected person agree with them, often much to the embarrassment of the original speaker: this is deftly done with Mr. Luke, who is more than once reduced to silence by having Mr. Stockton (John Tyndall), representing what Luke would consider vulgar science, express just the views that Luke's own arguments were leading up to.

This malicious panorama of late Victorian thought is both entertaining and instructive, but we look in vain for any positive base from which Mallock launches his attack. Otho Laurence, the host at this symposium, is a clear reflection of the author (though physically and financially he represents a wishfulfillment, for he is both handsome and a lavish entertainer: Mallock was not the former and could not afford to be the latter); but Laurence is simply the sensitive questioner, wishing to believe but not really possessing faith, a wistful, sentimental, attractive young man who whispers gracefully but sadly to the ladies in the intervals of the discussion. Though Mallock in later life (he lived until 1923) seems to have approached nearer and nearer to Roman Catholicism without having actually embraced that faith, and took an active part in challenging new social theories from what might be called the reactionary point of view, he offers in *The New Republic* no clearly defined position to oppose those he satirizes. So that in a sense the book is frivolous, if brilliant.

Yet it is a book of great contemporary interest, if only because the views expounded by the major characters in the dialogue are still with us and form the

THE NEW REPUBLIC, by W. H. Mallock. Edited by J. Max Patrick (University of Florida Press; \$4.50).

basis of much modern thought. If we can read through *The New Republic* without at one point or another being made to feel a little foolish, we are wise indeed. On questions of religion, culture and progress the view of the modern liberal intellectual tends to be a conflation of Benjamin Jowett and Matthew Arnold, and it is salutary (to use a favorite word of Arnold's) to have it so cunningly challenged.

Professor Patrick has done a first-rate job of editing. The temptation in editing a work of this kind is to overwhelm the text with explanatory and illustrative comment: Patrick has resisted the temptation to throw all his erudition at us and has given us notes which are tactful yet adequate. This edition of *The New Republic* is an example of the best kind of academic resuscitation.

David Daiches, author of "A Study of Literature for Readers and Critics," is professor of English and chairman of the Division of Literature at Cornell University.

IS HE ON HORSEBACK?

THE RIDDLE OF MACARTHUR, by John Gunther (Harper; \$2.75).

THE RIDDLE of MacArthur—if there is one—remains unanswered on the 231st, or final, page of John Gunther's book. I did not go through the index, but I doubt that the solution is there. Yet an interesting thing happened as I read this excellent quickie; and the fact that it happened is a tribute to Gunther's method. About five minutes after I became convinced that I was not being supplied with an answer to the riddle of MacArthur, I began to have a fine, happy feeling that there isn't any riddle.

We all know what the riddle of MacArthur purports to be. It is, simply: What are his intentions? Is he deliberately trying to make himself the rallying center for anti-liberal sentiment in our country? Does he carry on like a small power in the Pacific, possessed of an independent foreign policy, with the intention of showing that he is a great self-motored force in American life about which a political movement might be expected to crystallize?

The delightful possibility that seems to bubble from the pages of Gunther's

book is that the General himself doesn't know. He is playing by ear, ad-libbing as he goes along. Gunther shrugs off the key incident of MacArthur's visit to Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa last July—which alarmed the world by creating the impression that the United States was about to join Chiang against the Chinese Reds—as if it were a mere piece of tactlessness, a kind of bobble. It could have been. Certainly, in spite of his obvious sympathy for Chiang, General MacArthur has shown little desire, and nothing like a plan, for engaging in war with Red China. Had he such intentions he would have been better prepared for the North Korean push last June, his intelligence reports would have been more nearly adequate, and he would not have been so obviously astonished when the Chinese Reds, in lemming-like waves, came down on his forces last November. There is no scheming here.

But it is from Gunther's account of MacArthur's occupation policies in Japan that one derives even more clearly the feeling that the General holds no complete, private, plotty perspective of himself as a man on a white horse, bending America and the world to a severe and bitter personal will. Gunther is no master of paradox, no Voltaire, but through his patient, devoted accumula-

tion of facts, regardless of what "points" the facts may make, he achieves in the end a product that has some of the sheen of paradox. General MacArthur emerges as a lofty, austere, somewhat stratospheric man who has actually accomplished a redistribution of the land in Japan, raising the proportion of owner-operated tillage from 54 to 89 percent in four years—a program monotonously promised and repromised by every shivery reformer in every backward country in the world, but almost never delivered. Reporters criticize MacArthur for not being sufficiently tender toward the rights of a free press—but he has scored a point for democracy by actually dismantling the great military-minded Japanese industrial trusts. He has fostered a social-security system with the express aim of ensuring "the well-being of the entire nation from the cradle to the grave"—a thought which, if put forward here in identical terms, would make MacArthur's own supporters throw cat-fits.

What have we then? We have perhaps only a game of symbols and tendencies. Perhaps it isn't that MacArthur, absent fourteen years from America, has chosen the right wing in American life—perhaps the right wing has chosen him. If the right wing has been scheming for

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him, it has not been scheming successfully. At the Republican convention in 1948, after the General rather wistfully announced that he would accept the Presidency, he drew 11 nominating votes out of 1,094 on the first ballot, and no votes at all on the third. That is one of the best illustrations of the gap between newspaper noise and reality in the history of the country. It is true that MacArthur seems politically minded, and that his large official staff devotes itself heartily to building up and protecting his prestige and fame—but that doesn't put him into Boulanger's saddle, either. That is more or less standard operating procedure in our country for anybody who has a staff.

The Gunther book raises the possibility that the American Left goes too far in reading into MacArthur the qualities of his supporters, and that his supporters do the same thing—they look into mirrors and admire themselves in the fond belief that they are looking at and admiring the General. The political

right is not too careful in setting up objects for hate; perhaps it is also a touch inaccurate in setting up its love-objects. It is true that MacArthur accepts the right-wing puffs which come his way; he is in business, politically, and takes what support shows up. He certainly does not repudiate those who back him against the President. But the great controversy rages around him as a symbol rather than as a man. The General's spectacular personal style, his purple prose, his remoteness, and his no-nonsense old-soldierism are ideal for symbolic use, but it is worth speculating that the figure talked about so much in America is a kind of second MacArthur, built up of right-wing hope and left-wing fear, and, in Gunther's telling, quite different from the real man.

It was in the cards that the Gunther book, which shows signs of being written quickly to meet a current interest, should be a bad job. But, like all Gunther's books, it's in fact extraordinarily good. He does not work in depth, but in breadth, yet he gets so much into his report that quantity becomes quality. The book has that unaffected benevolence which is Gunther's characteristic—one can almost hear his little gasps of astonishment and sense the pulse of his excitements. His effort might have sold more widely among special groups if he had played the game of symbols and made MacArthur either a sinister character or a perfect one; as it stands it should have a brisk sale among just people. SAMUEL GRAFTON

Samuel Grafton was the author of the newspaper column, "I'd Rather Be Right." He is currently working, with Edith Grafton, on a play for fall production.

AIKEN AND WILLIAMS

THE COLLECTED SHORT STORIES OF CONRAD AIKEN (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; \$5).

MAKE LIGHT OF IT, by William Carlos Williams (Random House; \$3).

THERE ARE at least two masterpieces in this collection of short stories by Conrad Aiken, and by "masterpieces" one means stories of so crystal an essence that the image is permanently felt. These are "Secret Snow, Silent Snow" and "Strange Moonlight." "Mr. Arcu-

laris" and "The Dark City," in the same vein, which is Aiken's best—the metaphysical fantasia—are almost as good, though by the very nature of their freakish humor they cannot be as intense. In these stories of, you might say, the mind on the other side of the moon exploring itself *and* the moon, Aiken is "modernizing" the old romantic vertigo (*The Demon and the Abyss*). He is bringing new psychological insights to those states in which the mind is alienated from the concreteness of life by terrifying visions of dark space, the infinite, which surrounds us all. But a distinction must be made: these stories are working with madness, or near-madness, *not* neurosis. And madness or near-madness is much more intense than neurosis, and far more comprehensive and illuminating. Take, for instance, "The Dark City," which begins with an exposition of joy: a young and happy husband, going home at night to his wife, children and garden—much domestic ebullience, joking, much kicking up of the heels of fancy. But the story concludes with that vision of evil and death (the dark city of worms) that secretly feeds on this joy. Aiken works in the accepted form of the short story, perhaps because it does not oppose him. But he is constantly experimenting psychologically in other dimensions, his imagination is intensely aware of another order of things, over and above strict mortality, tones over the tone, the Tibets of the mind.

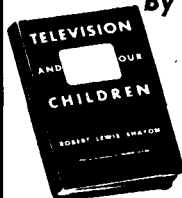
Then there is the other kind of story, reflecting with a robust freshness of sensation the life of the times (the twenties, when many of these were written and first published): snatches from popular tunes, the vogue of the Japanese print, the Night Before Prohibition. The climate of these stories is mercurial, volatile, full of high spirits and humor, full also of antennae and vibrations. Aiken's language, like his perceptions, is extremely alive. The world of things is described with an astounding freshness, as if it were absolutely new and seen through unclouded senses. But the world of human relations is seen as sharply. It may sometimes be expressed with a gayety we no longer have the heart for, or with a luster, an aerial

What can be done about TV? TELEVISION

AND OUR CHILDREN

By ROBERT LEWIS SHAYON

Introduction by
TELFORD
TAYLOR



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bloom, that is no longer "the thing." His best stories (and sometimes he writes simply a very charming yarn that does not dig into the nerve tissues at all) capture essential glimpses of the heart of the matter—the matter, that is, of being alive.

The startling quality in *Make Light of It*, the short stories of a poet and doctor, is its directness—a cutting directness that does away with fabrications like plot or verbal elaborations. Williams is not interested in creating spells or increasing illusions; what he wants to achieve, by every economy of the means at hand, is the frontal attack. And he gets it. Some of his stories have even disposed of skeletal structure. They are highly selective notes, brilliant addenda that carefully dispense with

our notions of what the "perfect" short story is or what the roundness and finish of perfection should be. But this is good—illuminating, shocking and often painful. Especially those stories from *Life Along the Passaic River* which deal with the angry doctor and his oxen patients, or the man who read Marx. Here the violence of the material is not tamed at all; rage and criticism made powerful by compression charge the meanings (usually complex, multiple meanings) to the point of explosion. Williams, profoundly interested in form and the powers and usages of form, cares not at all about the exoticisms of form. He is not interested in beauty *per se* or in inebriating effects *per se*. He strikes hard, with a thorough knowledge of the anatomy of the times.

JEAN GARRIGUE

MUSIC: Cycles, Books and Records

CONCURRENT FESTIVALS of Brahms and Wagner occupied New York audiences in the last half of January and the first half of February. With Bruno Walter as guest conductor, the Philharmonic-Symphony Society spent four weeks going through all the Brahms symphonies and concertos. At the Metropolitan Opera, Fritz Stiedry directed the first complete cycle of Wagner's "Ring of the Nibelungs" given there since 1947-48.

An allergy to all-Brahms programs kept me away from Carnegie Hall until the last week of Walter's stay, when I heard him conduct the Fourth Symphony and, with Myra Hess as piano soloist, the B flat major Concerto. By the end of sixteen measures, I regretted my earlier stubbornness, for Walter is one man, and perhaps the only one, who can still discover in the jaded Brahms repertory the splendor and nobility it used to manifest before every virtuoso conductor began to use it for self-exploitation.

The Metropolitan's "Ring" cycle, given in its entirety twice, was distinguished chiefly for the glowing sound of the well-rehearsed orchestra and for

Stiedry's superb mastery of both the large and small aspects of the mammoth scores. The world supply of capable Wagnerian artists is short nowadays, and much of the singing was second-class. The principal exceptions to the rule of vocal mediocrity were Set Svanholm, who sang the main tenor roles in all the operas except "Die Walküre," and Kirsten Flagstad and Helen Traubel, who, for diplomatic reasons, alternated in all three Brünnhilde roles. The settings made by Lee Simonson for the 1947 revival seemed as ugly as ever and as ineptly related to the requirements of the libretto.

While Brahms and Wagner were amicably sharing the resources of the two major musical institutions of New York, a stimulating book appeared to remind us that the relationship of these two composers was less peaceful when they were alive. *Vienna's Golden Years of Music*, by Eduard Hanslick, translated and edited by Henry Pleasants III (Simon and Schuster; \$3.75), is a fascinating account of the Brahms-Wagner controversy that split Vienna into two angry musical camps in the last half of

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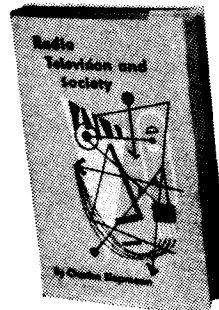
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the nineteenth century. Hanslick, the brilliant and fluent music critic of the *Neue Freie Press*, began his career as an apologist for Wagner's music, but "Lohengrin" so displeased him that he became an anti-Wagnerian and sought to promote the ideal of "pure music" represented by the neo-classicist Brahms. Wagner retaliated by caricaturing Hanslick (in the character originally called Viet Hanslich and later renamed Beckmesser) in "Die Meistersinger." *Vienna's Golden Years of Music* brings back, in Pleasants' admirably smooth translation, a famous period of musical growing pains. It also shows that the canons of conservative music criticism have not changed greatly in the past century.

An earlier phase of Viennese music is recaptured in Alfred Einstein's *Schubert: A Musical Portrait* (Oxford University Press; \$5). A parallel volume to the eminent musicologist's justly celebrated book on Mozart, the Schubert study traverses the composer's artistic life, interweaving biographical and musical data and illuminating the works with perceptions and side-references that reveal their place in Schubert's creative growth and in the musical epoch as a whole. Like so many examples of Teutonic scholarship, the book is relentlessly detailed; but nobody understands Schubert better than Einstein, and the many revelatory passages make it easy to forgive the laborious ones.

The Bach performances of last summer's Prades Festival, under the direction of Pablo Casals, have been preserved in a set of ten Columbia long-playing records (\$54.50 for the set; \$5.45 singly). The festival was conceived by the violinist Alexander Schneider as homage to Casals, who is universally recognized as one of the world's leading musicians. It enlisted the participation of a number of first-class performers, all of whom took part without remuneration (except, presumably, record royalties). The concerts, given in the church at Prades, took on a devotional air that made objective criticism difficult at the time. Listened to as cold facts on the recordings, the performances are highly variable. Some

are superlative in every way—Casals' own playing, with Paul Baumgartner at the piano, of the Cello Sonatas in G major, D major and G minor; the chromatic Fantasy and Fugue, played by Rudolf Serkin; the Concerto for Two Violins, by Schneider and Isaac Stern; the D minor Violin Concerto, by Joseph Szigeti; the A minor Violin Concerto, by Stern. The general quality of most of the rest of the performances—miscellaneous concertos, sonatas and piano pieces—is acceptable, though tonal balances are not always good and some of the interpretations are a bit flabby in rhythm. Except for the fifth in the series (in which the slow movement is played incomparably by Szigeti, John Wummer and Eugene Istomin), the Brandenburg Concertos sound improvised, as though the players were reading through them informally in Casals' living room. The two suites included (the first and the second) are equally tentative. I hesitate to recommend purchase of the set; the best individual items, however, are treasurable additions to the record library. CECIL SMITH

MOVIES

Peculiar Behavior

AN INTERESTING effect is achieved in "Payment on Demand" by casting a group of intelligent and persuasive actors in a script that blithely disregards the known rules of human behavior. Bette Davis, Barry Sullivan, Jane Cowl, Otto Kruger and most of the others in the company had no difficulty in making me believe that they were the people they purported to be, but I was confident that at the end of the picture a hypnotist would step onto the set and snap his fingers, whereupon the ladies and gentlemen in his thrall would awake with an embarrassed laugh and inquire guiltily whether they had done anything too silly.

It is a little difficult to demonstrate the somnambulistic falsity of this drawing-room-comedy adaptation of "Macbeth," for it reveals itself less in specific incidents than in complete jumble of

motivation; but it is easy enough to guess how it happened. A pair of Hollywood journeymen named Bruce Manning and Curtis Bernhardt sat themselves down to concoct a "story line" to accommodate the talents of certain actors at their disposal. But what these writers know about life is only what they have read in *Cosmopolitan* and *Good Housekeeping* and it has never been pointed out to them that there is a pattern and consistency to the human personality. Thus their heroine, a shrewd and pitiless schemer, turns soft and penitent as the happy ending hoves in sight, and their hero's old colleague, a man of scrupulous honor, obligingly declares himself an embezzler to introduce a mid-film climax, and a briskly competent dowager (Jane Cowl) goes Charles Laughton native in the tropics to provide the heroine with a horrible example. People do change and do behave unexpectedly, but for reasons more compelling than a Hollywood writer's decision that it "plays" better that way. It is depressing to watch as competent a cast as has been assembled for "Payment on Demand" being moved through one improbable scene after another by a couple of checker players who make up the rules as the whim seizes them.

The French "Miquette," starring Louis Jouvet and Daniele Delorme, tries to be cute and succeeds for the most part only in being tiresome. It is apparently a satire on the naive naughtiness epidemic in the farces of the 1900s (I judge this from the fact that now and again a character turns to the audience and exclaims upon the wickedness of the proceedings) and it falls into the trap of imitating its model even in dullness. There are a few entertaining if stereotyped scenes of backstage pandemonium in a down-at-heels road company (Louis Jouvet author, star and impresario), but on balance "Miquette" is a weary parade of winks, snickers, wiggles and senile goatishness.

If you can believe that a US submarine on a rescue mission and carrying as passengers a pair of stalwart nuns and a covey of little children would deliberately attract the attention of an

enemy destroyer you will have no difficulty in accepting the rest of the battle heroics in "Operation Pacific." John Wayne seemed to me an acceptable submarine commander, relaxed, competent and only foolhardy enough to hold his popularity with the crackerjack crowd, but I was surprised by the versatility and indestructibility of these underwater boats; in the hands of a Hollywood crew they're as agile and tough as jeeps. On shore Captain Wayne is less happily engaged; he is endeavoring to woo his estranged wife (Patricia Neal), and the amorous scenes in which the couple sway and quiver like laundry on the line and compliment each other on the quality of their zing (or perhaps it is pzang) are both ludicrous and revolting. The recent British "Operation Disaster" showed a more convincing knowledge of submarine mechanics, to say nothing of marital behavior.

It is strange that the Rank organiza-

tion, having decided to invest the talents of the expensive and very pretty Jean Simmons in a suspense thriller, should have refurbished for the purpose a legend whose solution is almost as widely known as who killed Cock Robin. A British girl arrives late at night with her brother at a discreet hotel in Paris. Next morning, the hapless young lady cannot find her relative; the room he was occupying has also disappeared and the hotel authorities maintain in the face of every plea and threat that mademoiselle is traveling alone. Any among you who does not recall the dénouement of this sinister chain of events may pant with curiosity at the sedate unraveling of "So Long at the Fair." The rest will have to occupy themselves by examining the elegant Paris Exhibition settings that decorate the picture and by appreciating the pleasing behavior of Miss Simmons, supported by David Tomlinson, Dirk Bogarde and a generally admirable British cast.

ROBERT HATCH

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